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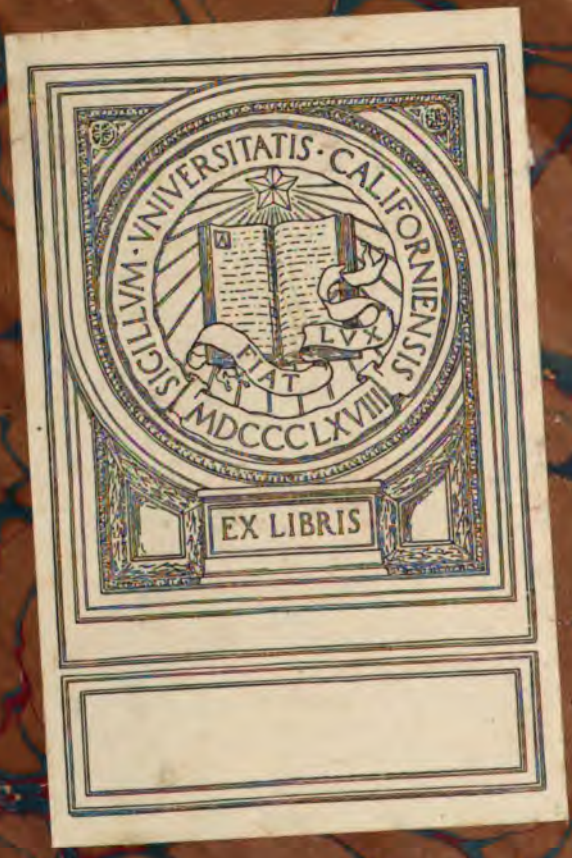
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THE

ARMY AND NAVY

OF

AMERICA:

CONTAINING

A VIEW OF THE HEROIC ADVENTURES, BATTLES, NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS, REMARKABLE INCIDENTS, AND GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM,

FROM THE PERIOD OF

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS TO THE CLOSE OF THE FLORIDA WAR;

INDEPENDENT OF AN ACCOUNT OF

WARLIKE OPERATIONS ON LAND AND SEA;

ENLIVENED BY A VARIETY OF THE MOST

INTERESTING ANECDOTES;

AND SPLENDIDLY

EMBELLISHED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

BY JACOB K. NEFF, M.D.

"Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt, discordiâ maximæ dilabuntur."

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN S. GABLE.
1845.

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PREFACE.

THE work now presented to the public is one of a peculiar character, and the only one that gives the reader a good idea of the *battles* fought in our country, unless he searches for a description of them through prosy and ponderous volumes. Too much space has hitherto been devoted to *legislative* proceedings, and too little to the battles. Nor is this all. The various military operations are mixed together in inextricable confusion in our ordinary histories, the same chapter often containing a number of battles. We have corrected this, and made a chapter of every battle, to set it forth clearly and distinctly, connecting only those extended operations, that were intended to aid each other.

PART I.—Contains the nature of campaigns—the advance—the retreat—the encampment of armies—together with the plans of battles; military maxims, from the great generals of every age and country, illustrated by their own battles; with all the manœuvres of fleets, and war at sea. This part prepares the reader to understand warlike operations on land and sea; a kind of information, the want of which every reader of ordinary history must have felt. Such an arrangement has never been attempted before, and in this, especially, our work differs from all others; we hope to the advantage of the reader.

PART II.—Gives an account of the battles of the French and Indian wars, which were of the greatest importance to our fathers. It was a struggle between France and England as to which government should rule the American continent. To our fathers it was important, not only because it would decide whether they should be ruled by the French or English, Catholics or Protestants, but it even decided whether they should at all exist as a nation. This, independent of the interesting nature of many of these forest battles, will make this part of the work of infinitely greater importance than is generally imagined.

Independent of all this, the heroes of our revolution were nearly all schooled in this war. Washington himself received his first lessons of

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war during this period, and terrible lessons they were indeed, which prepared him for those great achievements which he performed at a subsequent period. Nor is this all the interest this war possesses. As taxation was the cause of the revolution, so this war was the cause of taxation.

PART III.—Contains the battles of the revolution. Omitting all the more dull proceedings of Congress, and giving only the most important, so as to keep up the historical connection, we had ample space to make the description of all the battles very full. These are interspersed by poetical quotations, from all the great authors of ancient and modern times. We culled these flowers from many a beautiful garden, to strew them into the rugged paths of war, and to give interest and variety to the work. This is a new plan; and if the reader is willing to allow us to *claim* any merit for writing this work, we would ask it for the revolution.

The heroes of the revolution are set forth in a more conspicuous light than they have ever before appeared in, and the brilliant talents of Washington, often spoken of too lightly even by Americans, are made to appear, by giving a full account of those bold and mighty efforts, which were ultimately crowned with success.

PART IV.—The late war, of which this part treats, is more distinguished for the numerous naval victories which the Americans gained over the most powerful nation that ever existed. These are all fully described, as well as the battles on land, fought during the same period.

Severe and protracted indisposition rendered it necessary for us to avail ourselves more freely of the labours of others here than we should have done if in health; but the selections were made with such care, and from such high and rare authorities, that we have no doubt that the reader will profit by this arrangement. We make this general acknowledgment here, for this part of the work, to throw off the odium of plagiarism.

PART V.—Gives a general account of the Florida war; and, by *sketches* of battles, developes the general character of this Indian warfare.

PART VI.—Closes the work by a general description of the calamities of war—giving examples from the wars of ancient and modern times; showing, in the meantime, when war is just or tyrannical.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

THE

ARMY AND NAVY.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

MILITARY MAXIMS AND WARLIKE OPERATIONS.

War, in the hands of the tyrant, is the science of wholesale murder, plunder and desolation—the science of defence in the hands of the patriot. The one employs it against the people; the other, in their behalf. The one seeks it as a trade; the other adopts it as a dreadful necessity to avoid or arrest greater evils. The one gains for his reward the fears and curses of the people; the other, their heartfelt applause and esteem.

Aware that no man can read descriptions of battles, or other military movements, understandingly, without some previous knowledge of the fundamental principles and maxims of war, we shall endeavour to place a kind of information at the disposal of the reader, which many have hitherto been unable to obtain.

We have always considered ordinary histories defective, from a total neglect of a scientific and philosophical account of the governing principles of warlike operations. In reading such works, we might almost be led to suppose that a general had nothing to do but to "trust in Providence and keep his powder dry"—to march his army against the enemy with no other thoughts than how to *fight*. But let the general reader once get an insight into the mighty projects of the chief officer *before* and *during* his march, all based on profound scientific

principles, and a new and ample field is opened to his astonished view. He then not merely looks upon a Washington, a Lafayette, a Schuyler or a Greene, as a brave man *fighting* with enthusiasm and skill in the cause of the people, with a plan confined to the narrow limits of the battle-field; but he sees operations developed by the minds of great men, so vast, so extensive, for hundreds of miles around, that he reads accounts of their achievements as *mental*, as well as *moral* and *physical*, victories over the invading foe. It is this great plan that constitutes the interest of the science of war; it is this that exhibits the majesty of mind; it is this that, even *now*, may elevate our veneration for the living, and reverence for the dead, heroes of our army and navy—that may exalt their merits still higher in the estimation of the American people; it is this that gives defensive war, in the hands of men engaged in a just cause, a dignity that God himself, in his providence, has smiled upon it, when our fathers struggled for the rights of man.

In laying down the fundamental principles of war in this chapter, we shall avail ourselves of the information of the very best authorities now extant, to draw rich stores of knowledge from the latest English, French and German works, which it was heretofore impossible to obtain without much labour or expense.

If it should be asked why we obtain much of our information from European works, let it be remembered that we owe our tactics to Europe, and that it was *against* European tactics that our heroes had to exercise their powers. It was not so much the possession of *superior tactics* on the part of the Americans that crowned their efforts with victory, as the *superior application* of them to practice. Many of our illustrations of principles are taken from foreign wars, but they are *merely* to develope principles, as carried out by *various* distinguished chief commanders of ancient and modern times, under different circumstances, to make the subject more clear and comprehensible to those who have not made war a particular study, or who have not had the good fortune of seeing those few rare works on this subject in the different languages.

Independent of the numerous other advantages resulting from such an arrangement, which are too obvious to need any further comment, by rendering these maxims clear, (which are applicable to wars in all countries), by *foreign* examples chiefly, we shall avoid repetition in describing the American campaigns, which will, incidentally, develope their own governing principles with clearness and perspicuity to those acquainted with military movements; or who first carefully peruse this key to the wonderful projects of the great general, and the thrilling and startling secrets of his success.

I.

To throw, by a combined operation, the greatest mass of forces upon the decisive or primitive objective point, in which resides the *principle of strength* in the enemy, so as to destroy this point in the shortest, most decided and effectual manner, constitutes the *one great* governing principle—the maxim of maxims in war; in other words, to attack the most vulnerable point of the enemy, which conquered, would be most decisive in terminating the war. All other maxims or precepts are intended to instruct us in the mode of accomplishing this great object.

II.

The application of the first maxim to a great and perfect operation ought to include these three primitive combinations:—First, forming the plan of a campaign, offensive or defensive, embracing the lines of operation in the best manner. The second is the art of moving the mass of forces with the greatest rapidity upon the objective point of the line of operations. This is the mode of execution or strategy. The third is the art of combining the mass of forces to act simultaneously on the most important point on the battle-field.

1. In laying a plan of campaign, six essential points present themselves to our consideration: *a*, the political situation of both parties; *b*, the situation at the particular time; *c*, the relative force and means of carrying on the war; *d*, the location and distribution of the armies of both parties; *e*, the natural lines of operations; *f*, the most advantageous line of

operations. The relative means of war between the parties are only to be viewed as they are of importance. Territorial or manœuvring lines of operation, says a late writer, are the principal object; and though they are subject to many accessory considerations, the rules of the art must nevertheless form their basis. *Originality* and *great boldness* are not incompatible with their application.

But, before we proceed, it will be proper to give a definition of several military terms.

A base or *basis* of operations is the frontier, a large river, a coast, chains of mountains, fortresses, deserts or any topographical or political extent of country, upon the imaginary line of which the corps of an army assemble, *offensively*, to take their departure from thence into the country of the enemy, and to which, if they fail, they intend to retreat; *defensively*, to counteract all the measures of an invading foe.

Lines of operations are territorial and manœuvring lines. The *territorial lines* are those traced by art or nature for the defence or invasion of states. Frontiers covered with fortresses, or having a natural defence, as mountains, rivers, &c., form their constituents. *Manœuvring lines* are the dispositions of the general to traverse them offensively, or cover them defensively. Both these lines of operations are intimately connected. In offensive war, the line is an imaginary perpendicular upon the base, along which an army operates against the enemy; in defensive war it is often the same, but still oftener parallel to the territorial line. *A line of communication* is either the same as that of operations, or any other *by which the army receives its supplies* and communicates with the base.

Some examples will render the definition more intelligible. France and Austria have three great lines of operations against each other; by Italy on one side, Switzerland and Tyrol on the centre, and by Germany on the other. In these the Po, the Maine, the Danube, or a principal road, constitutes the *matériel* of lines, which are amenable to only a few rules presented by their nature. Between Prussia and Austria are again three lines—through Moravia, Lusatia, and

Saxony. Lines of operations are divisible into collateral or separate points. Frederick entered Bohemia by his central line upon four points. The French invaded Germany, in 1796 and 1799, upon two subdivided lines. Napoleon always operated upon one principal line, as did the Duke of Wellington in Spain.

2. Rapidity of movement increases the force of an army by enabling the mass to be carried alternately on every point of the line. "*The whole mystery of warlike operations is centred in the legs!*" says Marshal Saxe. Napoleon holds nearly the same language: "The strength of an army, like the power in mechanics, is estimated by multiplying the mass by the rapidity; a rapid march augments the *morale* of an army, and increases all the chances of victory." WASHINGTON *said* so, if you please, when he took possession of Dorchester Heights, and compelled the British army to leave Boston without firing a gun; thus *winning the game by the very first move.* He again acted in accordance with the same principle, when he rushed like a meteor from the north to the south, to besiege Yorktown and strike the decisive blow before John Bull got his spectacles fairly adjusted to see where he was. Rapidity, says Montecuculli, is of importance in concealing the movements of an army, because it leaves no time to divulge the intention of the commander. It is, therefore, an advantage to attack the enemy unexpectedly—to take him off his guard—to surprise him, and let him feel the thunder before he sees the flash. But if too great celerity exhausts your troops, while on the other hand delay deprives you of the favourable moment, you must weigh the advantage against the disadvantage, and choose between. Marshal Villars observes, that in war everything depends upon being able to deceive the enemy; and, having once gained this point, in never allowing him time to recover himself. Villars has united practice to precept. His bold and rapid marches were almost always crowned with success. It was the opinion of Frederick the Great, that all wars should be short and rapid; because a long war insensibly relaxes discipline, depopulates the state, and exhausts its resources. The principle of rapid-

ity, carried to the extent of Villars and Frederick, however, must be received with some caution: in the case of the latter, in adopting it as a maxim; in that of the former, in the manner of carrying it into execution. In the one we must be governed by circumstances; in the other by prudence. If the movements of an army are too slow, their antagonists will not only guard against surprise, but be prepared for their reception. General Schuyler retreated before Burgoyne, but he threw so many obstacles in his way, that by the time he arrived at Saratoga the Americans were *prepared* to meet him.

3. Among the first principles in battle is that of operating with a superior force upon a decisive point, because the physical force of organic numbers in arms furnishes the unerring means of victory when the moral qualities in both armies are equal. The means of bringing this force to bear in the most advantageous manner is the art of fighting; consequently, courage and fortune being nearly balanced, that general who can operate with the largest mass upon the most decisive point must be successful: but, to effect this purpose, the combinations must be such as to produce a unity of movements, conducing simultaneously to the same object.

It is necessary to avoid dispositions which have generally proved fatal; such as, 1st, forming isolated divisions; 2d, ordering extended movements, which deprive the army of a part of its strength, and enable the enemy to ruin either the main body or the detachment; 3d, positions with too great an extent of front; 4th, allowing obstacles to separate the wings, or obstacles which prevent the connexion of columns, and expose them to separate defeats.

The first combinations are those which produce an oblique order of battle—those with a wing reinforced, those which outflank the enemy, and those which form a perpendicular upon a hostile extremity, or upon a scattered centre. These are almost always successful, because they present a whole line to an extremity, and therefore a greater mass than the enemy. Thus the fundamental principle of all military combinations, namely, to effect with the greatest mass of forces

a combined attack upon the decisive point, is applied; and it is easy to understand how a general of ability, with 60,000 men, may be able to defeat 100,000, if he can bring 50,000 into action upon a single part of his enemy's line; for *battles are decided, not by troops upon the muster-rolls,* nor even by those present, but by those alone who are simultaneously engaged.

III.

In the selection of the *particular* line of operations, the rulers of a country must be governed by circumstances. The situation of the belligerents; their resources; nature of the fortresses; strength of their forces; distance from sea; direction of a chain of mountains; course of a river; the condition of neutral powers, or apprehensions of an ally, should all receive due consideration. It is requisite to foresee everything the enemy may do, and be prepared to meet it. It is true we sometimes see bad selections succeed, the plans of which are entirely at variance with the principles of war; but these are either the results of the caprices of fortune or of the errors committed by the enemy. A good general should never trust either; and if his government lays a plan which he considers faulty, to attempt to execute it would be culpable, if it were his opinion that he thus allowed himself to be made instrumental in his army's ruin. It would become his duty to represent his reasons against it, and endeavour to persuade a change of plan, and, if unsuccessful, rather resign than do violence to his conscience and wrong to his countrymen.

"In general, the initial application of military masses should be when the belligerents are neighbours on some part of the frontier which projects into the hostile state, as Bohemia with regard to Prussia, or Silesia with regard to Austria. But it is a maxim that lines of operations have their key as well as fields of battle: in the former, the great strategical points are decisive; as in the latter, the points which command the weak part of a position constitute the key."

Of all the obstacles on the frontier of states, says Napoleon, the most difficult to overcome is the desert—mountains

next; and large rivers occupy the third place. These are important considerations in the invasion of a country, coming as they do from a man of so much experience, independent of his great military genius. He appears to have been called upon to surmount every kind of difficulty incidental to warfare in his military career.

In Egypt he traversed burning deserts, suffering dreadfully from heat and thirst, and vanquished and destroyed the Mamelukes, so celebrated for their courage and address, in a country ill adapted to supply the wants of his troops. In the conquest of Italy he twice crossed the Alps by difficult passes, and at a season which rendered the undertaking truly formidable. In three months he passed the Pyrenees, beat and dispersed four Spanish armies. In short, from the Rhine to the Borysthenes, no natural obstacle could be found to arrest the rapid march of his victorious army.

IV.

When an army undertakes an invasion or acts offensively, it takes the lead in the movements, and those of the enemy are necessarily subordinate to them. If it occupies with a division each of the great avenues leading to the enemy, he will be in doubt and perplexity as to the point of the intended attack, and will not know where to concentrate his masses to oppose them. Although it is absolutely necessary to move with a mass of force near the enemy, yet if the army takes the lead in the movements it may gain great advantages by marching in separate corps while still at a distance from him, if he has not a concentrated mass ready to act, and there be several roads leading concentrically towards the point intended to be occupied. Five corps of 20,000 men each, will, of course, move forward more rapidly towards any point, than a hundred thousand men marching on the same road, who can only advance with the tardiness natural to large bodies. They are not only interfering with the movements of each other, but they must necessarily be encumbered with the immense train of baggage for subsistence.

An army of 20,000 men can find subsistence by merely causing the country for some leagues around to contribute

to their wants; and if they take with them biscuit for a week, that is, during the first period, while corps are in position, or manœuvring in a contracted area with other columns, they can subsist until the magazines are formed. This plan will enable the general to dispense with the necessity of prearranged magazines, or the encumbrance of field-ovens.

The general direction is upon the centre, one of the extremities, or the rear of the enemy's line. Of these an extremity is usually to be preferred, because from it the rear is easily gained. The centre is preferred only where the enemy's line is scattered and his corps separated by long intervals.

V.

It should be laid down as a principle, that when the conquest of a country is undertaken by two or three armies, which have each their separate line of operation until they arrive at a point fixed upon for their concentration, the junction should never take place too near the enemy, because the latter, in uniting his forces, might not only prevent it, but defeat the armies in detail. This error was committed by Frederick the Great, in the campaign of 1757. Marching to the conquest of Bohemia with two armies, which had each their separate line of operation; he united them in the sight of the Duke of Lorraine, who covered Prague with the imperial army. Frederick, it is true, succeeded, but the success of this march depended entirely on the inaction of the Duke, who, at the head of 70,000 men, did nothing to prevent the junction of the two Prussian armies.

VI.

Plans of campaign may be modified, ad libitum, according to circumstances, the genius of the general, the character of the troops, and the features of the country.

Sometimes hazardous campaigns succeed, the plan of which is directly at variance with the maxims of war, as already stated, by good fortune, or faults of the enemy, upon which a general should never count; for even when the plan is originally good, it may run the risk of failing at the outset, if opposed by an adversary who acts at first on the defensive,

VIII.

In the formation of large armies, the great variety of stores and ammunition which are required, makes it necessary to establish positions, forming depôts or magazines, and keep the communication with them always open and yet protected. These positions are the *base*—the foundation of all offensive war, from which the line of operations is directed *forward* into the enemy's country.

IX.

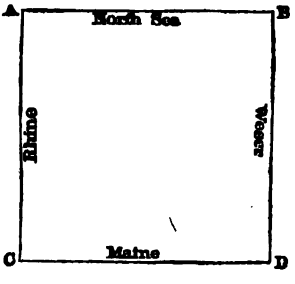
There are a great variety of manœuvring lines. *Simple lines of operations*, where an army operates in only a single direction from a frontier, without forming detached corps. *Double and multiplied lines*, when it acts upon the same frontier with two or three isolated corps, towards one or several objects. *Interior lines of operations* are formed to oppose several hostile lines, and are so directed as to possess internal connexion, and enabled to move and approach each other, without allowing the enemy to oppose a superior mass to them. *Exterior lines*, on the contrary, possess the opposite qualities: they are such as an army may form at the same time, upon the two extremities of one or several hostile lines. *Lines upon an extended front* are those which are arranged upon a great contiguous development by isolated divisions, but still belonging to the same mass of forces, and operating upon the same object. Under this head are comprehended, likewise, lines formed by two separate corps upon one given extent: they are then double lines upon a great front. *Deep or lengthened lines* are those which, commencing at their base, pass over a great extent of country before they can attain their object; as Napoleon's campaign into Russia. *Concentric lines of operation* are either several or a single line subdivided, moving from distant points in order to arrive at the same object, in front or in rear of their base. *Eccentric lines* designate a single mass starting from one point, and dividing itself in order to form several diverging lines upon isolated objects. *Secondary lines* are those in the great combinations of two armies, which designate their relative connexion while operating upon the development of the same

frontier. *Accidental lines* are produced in the original plan of campaign, when unexpected events necessitate a new direction for the operations. They are of the highest importance, and rarely adopted but by generals of the first abilities. Among all these lines, the simple and interior are the best, particularly when combined, as being most congenial to the great principle of carrying a mass of troops upon the decisive point. A few remarks will make the truth of this apparent. If an army advances from its base of operations upon one line, it is clear that the general commanding will have but two important dangers to provide against; first, that of his troops being attacked unawares; and, secondly, that of being turned and cut off from his communications with his base. An army, on the other hand, which moves upon double, exterior or multiplied lines, must be weakened in proportion to the number of its divisions. The general has many combinations to attend, and many dangers to guard against; his columns being on many roads, and unconnected, must also be dependent upon many persons and many orders. Obstacles will be multiplied at every step; and errors cannot be known or corrected without much loss of time.

X.

The configuration of the theatre of war may possess the same importance as that of a frontier; for, in fact, every theatre of war may be considered as a quadrilateral figure. To elucidate this idea, the scene of operations of the French army from 1757 to 1769, and the operations of Napoleon in 1806, may be cited. In Fig. 1, the side A B being enclosed by the North Sea, the side B D by the river Weser, base of the army of Prince Ferdinand; C D representing the river Maine, base of the French, and A C the Rhine, likewise in possession of the French; their armies operating offensively on the sides A C and C D, had the third, A B,

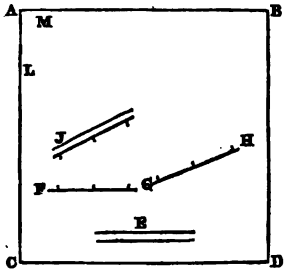
Fig. 1.



or North Sea, in their favour, and therefore B D was the only side which they were to gain by their manœuvres, to have possession of the four sides, and consequently of the base of all the communications of their adversary.

This is more clearly exemplified in Fig. 2. The French army, E, proceeding from the base, C D, to gain the position F G H, cuts off the allied army, J, from the side B D, its only communication and base. It would thus be driven into the angle L A M, which is formed near Embden by the line of the Rhine, the Ems, and the sea; while the army, E, could always communicate with C D, or the Maine.

Fig. 2.



The manœuvre of Napoleon on the Saale, in 1806, was combined on the same principle. He moved upon Jena and Naumburg in the position F G H; and then advancing by Helle and Dessau, he threw the Prussian army, J, upon the side, A B, formed by the sea. The fate which attended that army at Erfurth, Magdeburg, Lübeck, and Prentzlow, is well known. The great art, therefore, consists in combining the marches so as to arrive upon the communications of the enemy without sacrificing one's own. Now the lines F G H, by means of the prolonged position and the angle formed towards the extremity of the enemy, always preserves the communication with the base, C D. This constitutes the application of the manœuvres of Marengo and Jena.

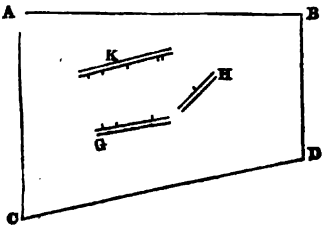
When the theatre of hostilities is not near the sea, it will be still circumscribed by some great neutral power, which guards the frontier, and encloses one side of the quadrangle. No doubt this barrier is inferior to the sea, but, in a general view, it must nevertheless be considered as an obstacle, upon which it is dangerous to be driven after a defeat, and advantageous to push an enemy. A state with 200,000 men will not suffer its neutrality to be violated with impunity; and if a beaten army ventured so to do, still it would be cut off from its base. But if an inferior power forms the limit of

the theatre of war, the square of operations may then be considered as extending over it to the next great neutral power, or the sea.

To give a still more convincing proof of the justness of the preceding ideas, let us examine the scene of the campaign of 1806–7, in Poland. The Baltic and the frontier of Austrian Gallicia formed the two sides A B and C D of the above square. It was of great consequence to both parties to avoid being driven upon either of these obstacles. The configuration of the frontiers may modify the sides of the square, and convert them into a parallelogram, or a trapezius, as in Fig. 3.

In this case, the army G H, being in possession of the sides A C and C D, would be still more favourably situated, because the base of the opponent, being contracted at B D, would be more difficult to keep open. The front of the base B D having less extent, offers fewer resources for manœuvring, and affords to the army, G H, the means of operating with more success, because the direction of the line C D naturally leads upon the communications of the enemy, and because the space to be occupied in order to cut him off is shorter, and therefore more easily held with concentrated forces.

Fig. 3.



Thus it will be seen that the manner of embracing a theatre of war is amenable to these two principles:

1. To direct the masses upon the decisive points of the line of operations; that is, upon the centre, if the enemy has imprudently scattered his forces, or upon an extremity, if he is in a contiguous line.

2. To make the great effort, in the latter case, upon that extremity which has its back against an insurmountable obstacle, or which leads upon the communications of the enemy without sacrificing our own.

XI.

Passive defence should never be depended upon, nor mere

fortresses without an army, as it would be like a shield without a sword. It is very obvious that the defensive system which has the greatest number of *offensive* faculties is always to be preferred. In passive defence the enemy can choose their own time and place to strike, and prepare accordingly; but in offensive operations, besides increasing the *morale* of the army, as already observed, the enemy has not time or does not know where to concentrate their forces. Independent of this, you keep the horrors of war out of your own country by successful invasions of the enemy's country.

XII.

As armies defend a country, so fortresses defend armies. These likewise secure the magazines, stores, and hospitals of an army, and save the *matériel* and broken troops after a defeat.

XIII.

At the commencement of a campaign, *to advance* or *not to advance* is a matter of grave consideration; but when once the offensive has been assumed, it must be sustained to the last extremity. However skilful the manœuvres, a retreat always weakens the *morale* of an army, because losing the chances of success; these last are transferred to the enemy. Besides, retreats always cost more men and *matériel* than the most bloody battles; with this difference, that in battle the enemy's loss is nearly equal to your own, whereas in a retreat the loss is on your side only.

Marshal Saxe remarks, that no retreats are so favourable as those which are made before a languid and unenterprising enemy; for when he pursues with vigour, the retreat soon degenerates into a rout. Upon this principle it is a great error, says the Marshal, to adhere to the proverb which recommends us to build a large bridge of gold for a retreating enemy. No.—Follow him up with spirit, and he is destroyed.

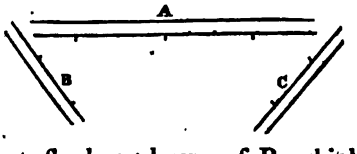
XIV.

Although it has been already stated that it is better to attack the *extremity* of a line, yet it must appear evident that both the extremities should not be attacked at the same time,

unless there be a very great superiority on the part of the assailant. An army of 60,000 men forming two corps of 30,000 each, for the purpose of attacking an enemy equally numerous, is deprived of the power of striking a decisive blow, because it enables the adversary to take equal measures; or even, if the movement be extended and unconnected, to assemble his mass against one of the divisions, and destroy it by his momentary superiority. Multiplied attacks by means of a greater number of columns are still more dangerous, more repugnant to the best principles of war, particularly when they cannot commence acting at the same moment and upon the same point. But when there is a very great superiority of force on the side of the assailant, then, indeed, both the extremities of the hostile line should be attacked, because thus a greater number of troops is brought into action on both his wings; whereas if this great superiority were kept in one mass upon a single point, the adversary might deploy as many as the other party could bring into action, and thus engage with equal numbers. In this case it is only requisite to collect the greatest mass upon that wing where the greatest success is expected.

If 50,000 men, intending to attack 60,000, should form two corps of nearly equal force, and, with a view to embrace both the extremities of their line, should extend and isolate the attacks, it is clear that the 60,000 will have the facility of moving more rapidly within the interior of their line, than the assailant's corps with such a mass between them, as Fig. 4 demonstrates. The two corps B and C might gain momentarily some ground, but the enemy, A, leaving a corps to check C upon the most advantageous ground for defence which its position might offer, could throw the remaining mass of forces on the front, flank, and rear of B, which must consequently be destroyed. If B and C should have a third detachment on the centre, the result would be still more disastrous, for then separate corps would attack without union

Fig. 4.



a force everywhere imposing, which could not fail to overpower them. This took place at Kolin, from inattention to the orders of the king; at Neerwinden in 1793; and at Stockack, in 1799, where Dumourier and Jourdon were defeated by Prince Coburg and the Archduke Charles.

XV.

Spies are of the utmost consequence when the lead is taken against the enemy, so as to obtain from time to time a knowledge of the positions and movements which are undertaken. Partisans, thoroughly versed in watching the enemy, are of still greater utility. For this purpose the general should scatter small parties in all directions, and multiply them with as much care as he would show to restrain them in great operations. Some divisions of light cavalry, expressly organized for this service, and not included in the order of battle, are the most efficient. To operate without such precaution is to walk in the dark, and to be exposed to the disastrous consequences which may be produced by a secret march of the enemy. These measures are too generally neglected. The *espionnage* is not sufficiently organized beforehand; and the officers of light troops have not always the requisite experience to conduct their detachments.

XVI.

The most appropriate disposition for leading troops into action, the *Order of Battle*, should possess the inherent qualities of mobility and solidity. To attain these two objects, troops which are to remain on the defensive should be partly deployed and partly in columns, as the allied army was at Waterloo, or the Russians at Eylau; but the corps destined to attack a decisive point should be disposed into two lines of battalions, formed into columns of more or less density. Jomini proposes columns of grand divisions, according to the French formation of a battalion of six companies, making three grand divisions.

Three grand divisions would thus form three lines, and the second line three more. This order, he thinks, offers more solidity than a deployed line, which waves too much, retards the impulse necessary for attack, and prevents the officers

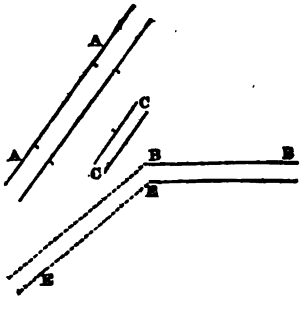
from managing their men. In order to facilitate the march, obviate the great density of the mass and procure a greater front, the division should be formed only two deep; for thus the battalions will be more moveable. The march in front three deep is always fatiguing to the centre rank, which, being pressed between the first and third, produces fluctuation and consequent faintness in the onset. The front thus also becoming one-third longer, the quantity of fire may be augmented if necessary.

XVII.

Between two armies equally capable of manœuvring, the defensive one may form an angle with advantage, to secure a flank from attack; but to render this precaution efficacious, the angle alone is not sufficient, because its utility is only momentary; the mass, therefore, should change front in the same direction, and present a whole line to the enemy.

If the army be sufficiently strong to assume the offensive against the assailant, a change of front, which is merely defensive, should be followed, as soon as the angle is formed and the enemy checked, by placing the line in columns of divisions to the flanks, and prolonging the direction from the position first occupied, to gain the hostile flank. Thus taken in front by the angle, and in flank and rear by the new direction, the enemy will be defeated. In Fig. 5, A is the army endeavouring to turn the left flank of B, which forms the angle C, and under the protection of this corps prolongs its line in the direction E E, by means of which the extremity of the hostile flank is gained; A cannot well oppose the execution of this movement in the presence of the angle C and of the line E, which, though it be in column, can form in an instant; hence A must fall back and change front also.

Fig. 5.



If a defensive position has an angle in the rear, the front

will be weakened in proportion as that angle becomes more acute: but if there be a considerable interval on the summit, where the two lines should meet, the danger will be still greater; for if the enemy can establish himself on the point A, it is clear that the two wings, A C and A B, will be enfiladed and forced to retreat, if not rolled up in confusion by an actual charge on either or both of these extremities. This caused the defeat of the Austrians at Prague, and of the Prussians at Breslau. (Fig. 6.)

Fig. 6.

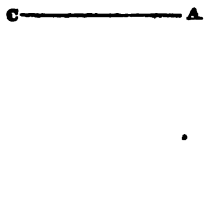
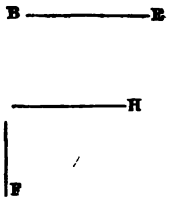


Fig. 7.

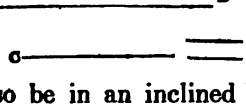


If two allied armies or great corps take up positions forming a re-entering angle with a space between them, and some considerable obstacle masks that space, they expose themselves to be attacked and defeated separately: this danger increases with the increase of the distance between them. The corps A D being separated from B E by a wood, lake, or other considerable obstacle, at G, the enemy, F H, being covered by that obstacle, may attack and defeat one before the other can arrive to sustain it. (Fig. 7.) This principle results from the maxims of interior against exterior lines of operations.

XVIII.

An oblique attack, according to Guibert and the Journal Topographique, is a disposition by which a part, or the choice of the forces, is advanced towards the enemy, and the other kept out of his reach. This definition is not quite correct, as Figs. 8, 9, 10 and 11 demonstrate. An army may be out of reach of the enemy, and therefore refused in a line nearly parallel, and strongly reinforced on a wing, without being oblique. (Fig. 8.) It may also be in an inclined line on the head of the attacks, and

Fig. 8.



form a positive diagonal without being reinforced (Fig. 9); or perpendicular upon a flank, as at Kunersdorff, with a wing reinforced (Fig. 10); or horizontal upon the head of the columns, without being oblique (Fig. 11).

Fig. 9.

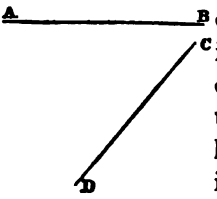
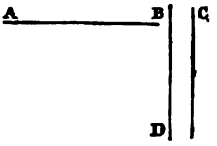


Fig. 10.



There are several modifications of these four orders (among others Fig. 10); as, for example, a perpendicular angle to the front, as formed by the Austrians at Prague, Kolin, and

Fig. 11.

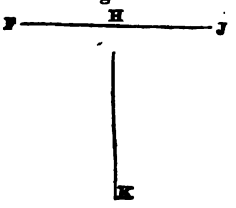
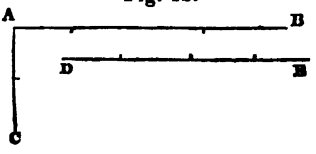


Fig. 12.



Hochkirchen (Fig. 12); the angle A C, being perpendicular to the army D E, reinforces the right wing, the line A B without being oblique: so also an angle to the rear would reinforce the line without obliquity. A parallel line, considerably reinforced upon the most important point, is no doubt good, and even very generally applicable; for it is conformable to the principles which form the basis of all operations: but it has several inconveniences. The weak part of the line being near the enemy, may be engaged, contrary to the intention, and be defeated; which event would balance and arrest the advantages gained on the other wing; as happened to both armies at Wagram. The reinforced wing having defeated its opponent, cannot take it in flank and rear without a considerable movement, which would separate it from the other, if already engaged: but admitting the weaker wing not to be engaged, the other cannot even then turn the flank without drawing it circularly along the hostile front, which the enemy must necessarily anticipate by being on the chord of the movement, and consequently give him the advantage of the

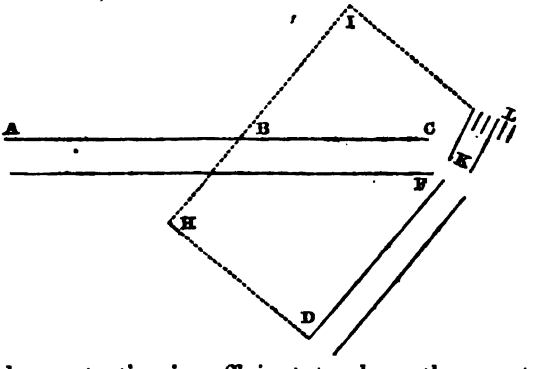
offensive, by reaching the decisive point first with the mass of his forces.

With the oblique order of Frederick, as applied at Leuthen, the effect is quite different; the extremity of the wing attacked is not only overpowered by a whole line, but the end of that wing is constantly outflanked and the line turned, without manœuvre or prolongation of direction, simply by a direct advance of the oblique line. The distance of the divisions which are not intended for the principal attack, places them out of danger of being engaged by a superior force, and yet sustains the wing in action. These effects of the open oblique attack, although known, cannot be too often presented to the reflections of military men. They offer, besides, another advantage still more decisive, in bringing the half of the army constantly into action against the extremity, probably of only two brigades, of the hostile army, which has no counter-manœuvre to stop its progress. What troops can stand against such odds, when, besides, they are constantly outflanked and taken in reverse? Is it possible that confusion and dismay should not follow in a whole line, whose flank is overthrown and menaced with total destruction, by the progressive advance in a direction upon the rear?

Yet such must be the infallible result of an oblique attack, when once it has reached the flank of the opponent undiscovered, as indicated in the preceding maxims; and when the lines are rapidly formed according to the method of Frederick, as will be seen in the observations on marches. Fig. 13 demonstrates the mechanism more clearly. The left wing, B C, of the army A C, will receive the fire of the second brigade of the army D K L, while the first brigade, or extreme right, formed in column of divisions, will turn it and decide the first attack with rapidity. The second brigade, in the oblique direction of its march, will soon be seconded by the third; and when that has passed the extremity, which must constantly recoil before a contiguous front, the fourth brigade opens its fire; and in this manner, supposing the army D F, K L, arrived at the dotted line H I, the whole will have been engaged in succession with a fourth or a third

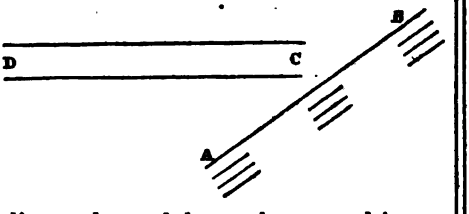
of the enemy's line, the battalions of which, being crushed one after another, will be nearly surrounded.

Fig. 13.



This demonstration is sufficient to show the great advantage of an open oblique order of attack. It is called open because the disposition, such as that of Leuthen, was nearly at right angles with the line of the Austrians, and different in every respect from a parallel order. All these advantages are equally applicable to masses concentrated upon the extremity which it is intended to crush. The army A B, Fig. 14, instead of forming two lines, as in the former figure, may draw up the first line only, and keep the second in columns at half distances behind the right, centre, and left, prepared to manœuvre or strike the decisive blow.

Fig. 14.



XIX.

An army should be ready every day, every night, and at all times of the day and night, to oppose all the resistance of which it is capable. With this view, the soldier should be invariably complete in arms and ammunition; the infantry should never be without its artillery, its cavalry, and its generals; and the different divisions of the army should be constantly in a state to support and to be supported.

The troops, whether halted or encamped, or on the march, should be always in favourable positions, possessing the essentials required for a field of battle; for example, the flanks should be well covered, and all the artillery so placed as to have free range, and to play with the greatest advantage. When an army is in column of march, it should have advanced guards and flanking parties, to examine well the country in front, to the right and to the left, and always at such distance as to enable the main body to deploy into position.

XX.

A general-in-chief should ask himself frequently in the day—what should I do if the enemy's army appeared now in my front, or on my right, or my left? If he have any difficulty in answering these questions, he is ill posted and should seek to remedy it.

XXI.

Valour in war often does more than numbers, and discipline more than fury.

XXII.

When an army is inferior in number, inferior in cavalry and in artillery, it is essential to avoid a general action. The first deficiency should be supplied by rapidity of movement; the want of artillery by the nature of the manœuvres; and the inferiority of cavalry, by the choice of positions. In such circumstances, the *morale* of the soldier does much.

The campaign of 1814, in France, was skilfully executed upon these principles. Napoleon, with an army inferior in number, an army discouraged by the disastrous retreats of Moscow and of Leipzig, and still more by the presence of the enemy in the French territory, contrived, notwithstanding, to supply his vast inequality of force by the rapidity and combination of his movements. By the success obtained at Champaubert, Montmirail, Montereau, and Rheims, he had already begun to restore the *morale* of the French army. The numerous recruits of which it was composed, had already acquired that steadiness, of which the old regiments afforded them an example, when the capture of Paris and the aston-

ishing revolution it produced, compelled Napoleon to lay down his arms.

But this consequence resulted rather from the force of circumstances than from any absolute necessity; for Napoleon, by carrying his army to the other side of the Loire, might easily have formed a junction with the armies of the Alps and Pyrenees, and have re-appeared on the field of battle at the head of 100,000 men. Such a force would have amply sufficed to re-establish the chances of war in his favour, more especially as the armies of the allied sovereigns were obliged to manœuvre upon the French territory with all the strong places of Italy and France in their rear. Napoleon said he could keep up a civil war in the country, but he scorned to war against his countrymen.

XXIII.

To act upon lines far removed from each other, and without communications, is to commit a fault which always gives birth to a second. The detached column has only its orders for the first day: its operations on the following day depend upon what may have happened to the main body. Thus the column either loses time upon emergency, in waiting for orders, or acts without them, and at hazard. Let it therefore be held as a principle, that an army should always keep its columns so united as to prevent the enemy from passing between them with impunity. Whenever, for practical reasons, this principle is departed from, the detached corps should be independent in their operations. They should move towards a point fixed upon for their future junction. They should advance without hesitating, and without waiting for fresh orders, and every previous means should be concerted to prevent their being attacked in detail.

The Austrian army, commanded by Field-Marshal Alvinzi, was divided into two corps, destined to act independently till they should accomplish their junction before Mantua. The first of these corps, consisting of 45,000 men, was under the orders of Alvinzi. It was to debouch by Monte Baldo, upon the positions occupied by the French army of the Adige The second corps, commanded by General Provéra, was des-

tined to act upon the lower Adige, and to raise the blockade of Mantua. Napoleon, informed of the enemy's movements, but not entirely comprehending his projects, confined himself to concentrating his masses and giving orders to the troops to hold themselves in readiness to manœuvre. In the meantime fresh information satisfied the general-in-chief of the French army that the corps which had debouched by La Coronna, over Monte Baldo, was endeavouring to form a junction with its cavalry and artillery; both which, having crossed the Adige at Dolce, were directing their march upon the plateau of Rivoli, by the great road leading by Incanole.

Napoleon immediately foresaw, that by having possession of the plateau, he should be able to prevent this junction, and obtain all the advantages of the initiative. He accordingly put his troops in motion, and at two o'clock in the morning occupied that important position. Once master of the point fixed upon for the junction of the Austrian columns, success followed all his dispositions. He repulsed every attack, made 7,000 prisoners, and took several standards and twelve pieces of cannon. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the battle of Rivoli was already gained, when Napoleon, learning that General Provéra had passed the Adige at Anghiari, and was directing his march upon Mantua, left to his generals the charge of following the retreat of Alvinzi, and placed himself at the head of a division for the purpose of defeating the designs of Provéra.

By a rapid march, he again succeeded in the initiatory movement, and preventing the garrison of Mantua from uniting its force with the relieving army. The corps charged with the blockade, eager to distinguish itself under the eyes of the conqueror of Rivoli, compelled the garrison to retire into the place, while the divisions of Victor, forgetful of the fatigue of a forced march, attacked the relieving army in front. At this moment a sortie from the lines of St. George took him in flank, and the corps of Augereau, which had followed the march of the Austrian general, attacked him in rear. Provéra, surrounded on all sides, capitulated. The result of these two battles cost the Austrians 3,000 men in

killed and wounded, 22,000 prisoners, twenty-four standards, and forty-six pieces of cannon.

XXIV.

The fire used by the assailants in a flank attack must produce enfilade; flank attacks and enfilade are, therefore, synonymous terms, in so far as relates to fire.

Of enfilade every one has a pretty just idea; it is a destructive sweeping fire along a line; it is to soldiers what raking is to seamen, of which we shall speak hereafter; it is to either, one of the greatest evils that can befall them, and in avoiding it on the one hand whilst he turns it on his adversary, consists one of the greatest arts of an able commander.

The more we consider enfilade and flank attacks, or turning an enemy, the more we shall find that their effects pervade the whole military science, and form the main springs of most military movements; it is to obtain these advantages that wings are thrown forward by the one party, and to prevent their being obtained that wings are thrown back by the other; it is to obtain these advantages that attacks usually commence towards a flank; it is to obtain these advantages that so many artifices are used, either by means of circuitous routes or other deceits, to fall upon an enemy's flank during the battle; and it is to avoid such mischief that both parties, but more particularly the posted one, shows such solicitude in the arrangement of its flanks, as shall render this as difficult as possible, or altogether impracticable.

The body which succeeds in turning or taking in flank its adversary, usually carries with it the fortune of the day. We have also adverted to the fact, that a position forming an angle salient, or projecting towards an enemy, is likewise a weak point, and it becomes weaker and weaker in proportion as it is more and more susceptible of enfilade, by being more acute: an angle rentrant, or projecting from an enemy, if the flanks and rear are secure, acts in the opposite ratio, for one part of the position defends the other. Fleets in the defence of narrow straits, usually draw up in a crescent or semicircle, with the concave towards the enemy, which is

exactly similar in principle, as well as effect, to the angle projecting from the enemy. It is very obvious that if the angle extended towards the enemy they might fire in the direction of its lines.

XXV.

An army ought to have only one line of operation. This should be preserved with care, and never abandoned but in the last extremity.

The line of communication, says Montecuculli, must be certain and well established for every army that acts from a distant base; and the commander who is not careful to keep his line perfectly open, marches upon a precipice: he moves to certain ruin, as may be seen by an infinity of examples. In fact, if the road by which provisions, ammunition, and reinforcements are to be brought up, is not entirely secured; if the magazines, the hospitals, the depôts of arms, and the places of supply are not fixed, and commodiously situated, not only the army cannot keep the field, but it will be exposed to the greatest dangers.

XXVI.

The distances permitted between corps of an army upon the march, must be governed by the localities, by circumstances, and by the object in view.

When an army moves at a distance from the enemy, the columns may be disposed along the road so as to favour the artillery and baggage. But when it is marching into action, the different corps must be formed in close columns in order of battle. The generals must take care that the heads of the columns which are to attack together, do not outstep each other, and that in approaching the field of action, they preserve the relative intervals required for deployment.

The marches that are made preparatory to a battle require, says Frederick, the greatest precaution. With this view he recommends his generals to be particularly on their guard, and to reconnoitre the ground at successive distances, in order to secure the initiative by occupying those positions most calculated to favour an attack. On a retreat, it is the opinion of many generals that an army should concentrate its forces,

and march in close columns if it is still strong enough to resume the offensive; for by this means it is easy to form the line when a favourable opportunity presents itself either for holding the enemy in check, or for attacking him if he is not in a situation to accept battle.

Such was Moreau's retreat, after the passage of the Adda by the Austro-Russian army. The French general, after having covered the evacuation of Milan, took up a position between the Po and the Tenaro. This camp rested upon Alexandria and Valentia, two capital fortresses, and had the advantage of covering the roads to Turin and Savona, by which he could effect his retreat in case he was unable to accomplish a junction with the corps d'armée of Macdonald, who had been ordered to quit the kingdom of Naples, and hasten his march into Tuscany.

Forced to abandon this position in consequence of the insurrection in Piedmont and Tuscany, Moreau retired upon Asti, where he learned that his communication with the river of Genoa had just been cut off by the capture of Ceva. After several ineffectual attempts to re-take this place, he saw that his only safety depended upon throwing himself into the mountains.

To effect this object, he directed the whole of his battering train and heavy baggage, by the Col de Fenestrelle, upon France; then opening himself a way over the St. Bernard, he gained the Loano with his light artillery and the small proportion of field equipments he had been able to preserve.

By this skilful movement, he not only retained his communications with France, but was enabled to observe the motions of the army from Naples, and to facilitate his junction with it, by directing the whole of his force upon the points necessary for that purpose.

Macdonald, in the meantime, whose only chance of success depended on concentrating his little army, neglected this precaution, and was beaten in three successive actions at the Trebia. By this retardment of his march, he rendered all Moreau's measures to unite the two armies in the Plains of the Po useless, and his retreat after his brilliant but fruitless

efforts at the Trebia, defeated the other dispositions also which the former had made to come to his support. After all, however, the inactivity of Marshal Suwarrow enabled the French general to accomplish his junction with the remains of the army from Naples. Moreau then concentrated his whole force upon the Apennines, and placed himself in a situation to defend the important positions of Liguria, until the chances of war should afford him an opportunity of resuming the offensive.

When, after a decisive battle, an army has lost its artillery and equipments, and is consequently no longer in a state to resume the offensive, or even to arrest the pursuit of the enemy, it would seem most desirable to divide what remains into several corps, and order them to march by separate and distant routes upon the base of operations, and throw themselves into the fortresses. This is the only means of safety; for the enemy, uncertain as to the precise direction taken by the vanquished army, is ignorant in the first instance which corps to pursue, and it is in this moment of indecision that a march is gained upon him. Besides, the movements of a small body being so much easier than those of a larger one, these separate lines of march are all in favour of a retreating army.

XXVI.

Among mountains, a great number of positions are always to be found, very strong in themselves, and which it is dangerous to attack. The character of this mode of warfare consists in occupying camps on the flanks or in the rear of the enemy, leaving him only the alternative of abandoning his position without fighting, to take up another in the rear, or to descend from it in order to attack you. In mountain warfare, the assailant has always the disadvantage. Even in offensive warfare in the open field, the great secret consists in defensive combats, and in obliging the enemy to attack.

During the campaign of 1793, in the Maritime Alps, the French army under the orders of General Brunét did all in its power to get possession of the camps at Rans and at Fourches, by an attack in front. But these useless efforts

served only to increase the courage of the Piedmontese, and to destroy the élite of the grenadiers of the republican army. The manœuvres by which Napoleon, without fighting, compelled the enemy to evacuate these positions in 1796, suffice to establish the truth of these principles, and to prove how much success in war depends upon the genius of the general, as well as on the courage of the soldier.

XXVII.

It is an approved maxim in war, never to do what the enemy wishes you to do, for this reason alone, that he desires it. A field of battle, therefore, which he has previously studied and reconnoitred, should be avoided; and double care should be taken where he has had time to fortify or entrench. One consequence deducible from this principle is, never to attack a position in front which you can gain by turning.

It was without due regard to this principle, that Marshal Villeroi, on assuming the command of the army of Italy during the campaign of 1701, attacked, with unwarrantable presumption, Prince Eugene of Savoy in his entrenched position of Chiari, on the Oglio. The French generals, Catinat among the rest, considered the post unassailable; but Villeroi insisted, and the result of this otherwise unimportant battle was the loss of the élite of the French army. It would have been greater still but for Catinat's exertions.

It was by neglecting the same principle, that the Prince of Condé, in the campaign of 1644, failed in all his attacks upon the entrenched position of the Bavarian army. The Count Merci, who commanded the latter, had drawn up his cavalry skilfully upon the plain, resting upon Freyberg, while his infantry occupied the mountain.

After many fruitless attempts, the Prince of Condé, seeing the impossibility of dislodging the enemy, began to menace his communication—but the moment Merci perceived this, he broke up his camp and retired beyond the Black Mountains.

XXVIII.

In a war of march and manœuvre, if you would avoid a battle with a superior army, it is necessary to entrench every night, and occupy a good defensive position. Those natural

positions which are ordinarily met with are not sufficient to protect an army against superior numbers without recourse to art.

The campaign of the French and Spanish army, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, against the Portuguese, in the year 1706, affords a good lesson on this subject. The two armies almost made the tour of Spain. They began the campaign near Badajoz, and after manœuvring across both Castilles, finished in the kingdoms of Valencia and Marcia. The Duke of Berwick encamped his army *eighty-five* times; and although the campaign passed without a general action, he took about 10,000 prisoners from the enemy. Marshal Turenne also made a fine campaign of manœuvre against the Count Montecuculli, in 1675.

The imperial army having made its dispositions to pass the Rhine at Strasburg, Turenne used all diligence, and throwing a bridge over the river near the village of Ottenheim, three leagues below Strasburg, he crossed with the French army and encamped close to the little town of Velstet, which he occupied. This position covered the bridge of Strasburg, so that by this manœuvre Turenne deprived the enemy of all approach to that city.

Upon this Montecuculli made a movement with his whole army, threatening the bridge at Ottenheim, by which the French received their provisions from upper Alsace.

As soon as Turenne discovered the design of the enemy, he made a rapid march with his whole force upon the village of Altenheim. This intermediate position between the two bridges which he wished to preserve, gave him the advantage of being able to succour either of these posts before the enemy had time to carry them. Montecuculli, seeing that any successful attack upon the bridges was not to be expected, resolved to pass the Rhine below Strasburg, and with this view returned to his first position at Ottenheim. Marshal Turenne, who followed all the movements of the Austrian army, brought back his army also to Velstet.

In the meantime, this attempt of the enemy having convinced the French general of the danger to which his bridge

had exposed him, removed it nearer to that of Strasburg, in order to diminish the extent of ground he had to defend.

Montecuculli having commanded the magistrates of Strasburg to collect materials for a bridge, moved to Scherzheim to receive them; but Turenne again defeated his projects by taking a position at Freistett, where he occupied the islands of the Rhine, and immediately constructed a stockade.

Thus it was that, during the whole of this campaign, Turenne succeeded in gaining the initiative of the enemy, and obliging him to follow his movements. He succeeded also by a rapid march in cutting off Montecuculli from the town of Offenburg, from whence he drew his supplies, and would no doubt have prevented the Austrian general from effecting his junction with the corps of Caprara, had not a cannon-shot terminated this great man's life.

XXIX.

A general of ordinary talent occupying a bad position, and surprised by a superior force, seeks his safety in retreat; but a great captain supplies all deficiencies by his courage, and marches boldly to meet the attack. By this means he disconcerts his adversary; and if this last shows any irresolution in his movements, a skilful leader, profiting by his indecision, may even hope for victory, or at least employ the day in manœuvring—at night he entrenches himself, or falls back to a better position. By this determined conduct he maintains the honour and courage of his army, the first essentials to all military superiority.

In 1653, Marshal Turenne was surprised by the Prince of Condé, in a position in which his army was completely compromised. He had the power indeed, by an immediate retreat, of covering himself by the Somme, which he possessed the means of crossing at Peronne, and from whence he was distant only half a league; but fearing the influence of this retrograde movement on the *morale* of his army, Turenne balanced all disadvantages by his courage, and marched boldly to meet the enemy with very inferior forces. After marching a league, he found an advantageous position, where he made every disposition for a battle. It was three o'clock

in the afternoon, but the Spaniards, exhausted with fatigue, hesitated to attack him; and Turenne having covered himself with entrenchments during the night, the enemy no longer dared to risk a general action, and broke up his camp.

XXX.

The transition from the defensive to the offensive, is one of the most delicate operations in war.

It is by studying the first campaigns of Napoleon in Italy, that we learn what genius and boldness may effect in passing with an army from the defensive to the offensive. The army of the allies, commanded by General Beaulieu, was provided with every means that could render it formidable. Its force amounted to 80,000 men, and two hundred pieces of cannon. The French army on the contrary could number scarcely 30,000 men under arms, and thirty pieces of cannon. For some time there had been no issue of meat, and even bread irregularly supplied. The infantry was ill clothed, the cavalry wretchedly mounted. All the draught horses had perished from want, so that the service of the artillery was performed by mules. To remedy these evils, large disbursements were necessary; and such was the state of the finances, that the government had only been able to furnish two thousand louis for the opening of the campaign. The French army could not possibly exist in this state. To advance or to retreat was absolutely necessary. Aware of the advantage of surprising the enemy at the very outset of the campaign by some decisive blow, Napoleon prepared for it by re-casting the *morale* of his army.

In a proclamation full of energy, he reminded them that an ignoble death alone remained for them, if they continued on the defensive; that they had nothing to expect from France, but everything to hope from victory. "Abundance courts you in the fertile plains of Italy," said he: "are you deficient, soldiers, in constancy or in courage?"

Profiting by the moment of enthusiasm which he had inspired, Napoleon concentrated his forces in order to fall with his whole weight on the different corps of the enemy. Immediately afterwards, the battles of Montenotte, Milesimo, and

Mondovi, added fresh confidence to the high opinion already entertained by the soldier for his chief; and that army which only a few days ago was encamped amid barren rocks, and consumed by famine, already aspired to the conquest of Italy. In one month after the opening of the campaign, Napoleon had terminated the war with the King of Sardinia, and conquered the Milanese. Rich cantonments soon dispelled from the recollection of the French soldiers the misery and fatigue attendant upon this rapid march, while vigilant administration of the resources of the country reorganized the *matériel* of the French army, and created the means necessary for the attainment of future success. Although part of these principles are more particularly applicable to other countries, yet some lessons are contained among the rest that may be useful to the American reader.

XXXI.

It may be laid down as a principle, that the line of operations should not be abandoned; but it is one of the most skilful manœuvres in war to know how to change it, when circumstances authorize or render this necessary. An army which changes skilfully its line of operation, deceives the enemy, who becomes ignorant where to look for its rear, or upon what weak points it is assailable.

Frederick the Great sometimes changed his line of operation in the middle of a campaign; but he was enabled to do this, because he was manœuvring at that time in the centre of Germany, an abundant country, capable of supplying all the wants of his army in case his communications with Prussia were intercepted.

Marshal Turenne, in the campaign of 1746, gave up his line of communication to the allies in the same manner; but, like Frederick, he was carrying on the war at this time in the centre of Germany, and having fallen with his whole forces upon Rain, he took the precaution of securing to himself a depôt upon which to establish his base of operations. By a series of manœuvres, marked alike by audacity and genius, he subsequently compelled the imperial army to abandon its magazines, and retire into Austria for winter-quarters.

But these are examples which appear to me should only be imitated when we have taken full measure of the capacity of our adversary, and above all, when we see no reason to apprehend an insurrection in the country to which we transfer the theatre of war.

XXXII.

When an army carries with it a battering train, or large convoys of sick and wounded, it cannot march by too short a line upon its depôts.

It is above all in mountainous countries, and in those interspersed with woods and marshes, that it is of importance to observe this maxim; for the convoys and means of transport being frequently embarrassed in defile, an enemy, by manœuvring, may easily disperse the escorts, or make even a successful attack upon the whole army, when it is obliged, from the nature of the country, to march in an extended column.

XXXIII.

The art of encamping in position is the same as taking up the line in order of battle in this position. To this end, the artillery should be advantageously placed, ground should be selected which is not commanded or liable to be turned, and, as far as possible, the guns should cover and command the surrounding country.

XXXIV.

When you are occupying a position which the enemy threatens to surround, collect your force immediately, and menace *him* with an offensive movement. By this manœuvre you will prevent him from detaching and annoying your flanks, in case you should judge it necessary to retire.

This was the manœuvre practised by General Dessaix, in 1778, near Radstadt. He made up for inferiority in numbers by audacity, and maintained himself the whole day in position, in spite of the vigorous attacks of the Archduke Charles. At night he effected his retreat in good order, and took up a position in the rear.

It was in accordance also with this principle, in the same campaign, that General Moreau gave battle at Biberach, to secure his retreat by the passes of the Black Mountains. A

few days after, he fought at Schliengen with the same object. Placed in good defensive position, he menaced the Archduke Charles by a sudden return to the offensive, while his artillery and baggage were passing the Rhine by the bridge of Haningen, and he was making all the necessary dispositions for retiring behind that river himself.

Here, however, I would observe that the execution of such offensive demonstrations should be deferred always till towards the evening, in order that you may not be compromised by engaging too early in a combat which you cannot long maintain with success. Night and the uncertainty of the enemy after an affair of this kind, will always favour your retreat if it is judged necessary; but, with a view to mask the operation more effectually, fires should be lighted all along the lines to deceive the enemy, and prevent him from discovering this retrograde movement; for in a retreat it is a great advantage to gain a march upon your adversary.

XXXV.

Never lose sight of this maxim, that you should establish your cantonments at the most distant and best protected point from the enemy, especially where a surprise is possible. By this means you will have time to unite all your forces before he can attack you.

In the campaign of 1645, Marshal Turenne lost the battle of Marienthal by neglecting this principle; for if, instead of reassembling his divisions at Erbsthausen, he had rallied his troops at Mergentheim behind the Tauber, his army would have been much sooner reunited, and Count Merci, in place of finding only 3,000 men to fight at Erbsthausen, (of which he was well informed,) would have had the whole French army to attack in a position covered by a river.

Some one having indiscreetly asked Viscount Turenne, how he had lost the battle of Marienthal,—"By my own fault," replied the Marshal; "but," added he, "when a man has committed no faults in war, he can only have made it a short time."

XXXVI.

When two armies are in order of battle, and one has to

retire over a bridge, while the other has the circumference of the circle open, all the advantages are in favour of the latter. It is then a general should show boldness, strike a decided blow, and manœuvre upon the flank of his enemy. The victory is in his hands.

This was the position of the French army at the famous battle at Leipzig, which terminated the campaign of 1813 so fatally to Napoleon, for the battle of Hanau was of no consequence comparatively in the desperate situation of that army.

It would appear that in a situation like that of the French army previous to the battle of Leipzig, a general should never calculate upon any of those lucky chances which may rise out of a return to the offensive, but that he should rather adopt every possible means to secure his retreat. With this view, he should immediately cover himself with good entrenchments, to enable him to repel with inferior numbers the attack of the enemy, while his own equipments are crossing the river. As fast as the troops reach the other side, they should occupy positions to protect the passage of the rear guard, and this last should be covered by a *tête de pont* as soon as the army breaks up its camp. During the wars of the French revolution little regard was paid to entrenchments by the European powers; and it is for this reason we have seen large armies dispersed after a single reverse, and the fate of nations compromised by the issue of one battle.

XXXVII.

It is contrary to all true principle, to make corps which have no communication act separately against a central force whose communications are open.

The Austrians lost the battle of Hohenlinden by neglecting this principle. The imperial army, under the orders of the Archduke John, was divided into four columns, which had to march through an immense forest, previous to their junction in the plain of Anzing, where they intended to surprise the French. But these different corps, having no direct communication, found themselves compelled to engage separately with an enemy who had taken the precaution of con-

centrating his masses, and who could move them with facility in a country with which he had been long previously acquainted.

Thus the Austrian army, enclosed in the defiles of the forest with its whole train of artillery and baggage, was attacked in its flanks and rear, and the Archduke John was only enabled to rally his dispersed and shattered divisions under cover of the night. The trophies obtained by the French army on this day were immense. They consisted of 11,000 prisoners, one hundred pieces of cannon, several stand of colours, and all the baggage of the enemy.

The battle of Hohenlinden decided the fate of the campaign of 1800, and his brilliant and well-merited success placed Moreau in the rank of the first generals of the age.

XXXVIII.

When an army is driven from a first position, the retreating columns should rally always sufficiently in the rear to prevent any interruption from the enemy. The greatest disaster that can happen, is when the columns are attacked in detail, and before their junction.

One great advantage which results from rallying your columns on a point far removed from the field of battle, or from the position previously occupied, is that the enemy is left in uncertainty of the direction you mean to take.

If he divides his force to pursue you, he exposes himself to see his detachments beaten in detail, especially if you have exerted all due diligence, and effected the junction of your troops in sufficient time to get between his columns and disperse them one after the other. It was by a manœuvre of this kind, in the campaign of Italy in 1799, that General Melas gained the battle of Genola.

General Championet commanded the French army, and endeavoured to cut off the communication of the Austrians with Turin, by employing corps which manœuvred separately to get into their rear. Melas, who divined his project, made a retrograde march, by which he persuaded his adversary that he was in full retreat, although the real object of his movement was to concentrate his forces at the point fixed

for the junction of the different detachments of the French army, and which he beat and dispersed one after another by his great superiority in numbers. The result of this manœuvre, in which the Austrian general displayed vigour, decision, and *coup d'œil*, secured to him the peaceable possession of Piedmont.

It was also by the neglect of this principle that General Beaulieu, who commanded the Austro-Sardinian army in the campaign of 1796, lost the battle of Milesimo after that of Montenotte. His object in endeavouring to rally his different corps upon Milesimo, was to cover the high roads of Turin and Milan; but Napoleon, aware of the advantages arising from the ardour of troops emboldened by recent success, attacked him before he could assemble his divisions, and by a series of skilful manœuvres, succeeded in separating the combined armies. They retired in the greatest disorder—the one by the road of Milan, the other by that of Turin.

XXXIX.

A retiring army is not always obliged to fall back upon its own frontier; it may sometimes change the direction of its operations, as Frederick did after the siege of Olmutz, in 1758, who, instead of returning into Silesia, changed his line and marched into Bohemia. This measure was also proposed to Napoleon before the battle of Leipzig. He was advised to approach the Elbe, call in the corps of St. Cyr from Dresden, cross the river about Wittemberg and descend by the right bank towards Magdeburg. The Prussian and northern armies, being on the left of the Elbe, could have prevented the destruction of Berlin, Potsdam and Brandenburg. And from Magdeburg, reinforced with its vast garrison, and connected with the Danes and the corps of Davoust at Hamburg, he could have operated by a new line, having his communications open by Wesel, Cassel, and all the fortresses of Holland. There were, however, many and probably superior reasons, which made him reject these proposals.

XL.

No force should be detached on the eve of battle, because

affairs may change during the night, either by the retreat of the enemy, or by the arrival of large reinforcements to enable him to resume the offensive, and counteract your previous dispositions.

In 1796, the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, commanded by General Jourdan, effected a retreat which was rendered still more difficult by the loss of his line of communication. Seeing, however, the forces of the Archduke Charles disseminated, Jourdan, in order to accomplish his retreat upon Frankfort, resolved to open himself a way by Wurtzburg, where there were at that moment only two divisions of the Austrian army. This movement would have been attended with success if the French general, believing he had simply these two divisions to contend with, had not committed the error of separating himself from the corps of Le Fevre, which he left at Schweinfurt, to cover the only direct communication of the army with its base of operation.

The commission of this fault at the outset, added to some slowness of the march of the French general, secured the victory of the Archduke, who hastened to concentrate his forces. The arrival of the two divisions also of Kray and Wartesleben during the battle, enabled him to oppose 50,000 men to the French army, which scarcely numbered 30,000 combatants. This last was consequently beaten and obliged to continue its retreat by the mountains of Fuldes, where the badness of the roads could be equalled only by the difficulty of the country.

The division of Le Fevre, amounting to 14,000 men, would, in all probability, have turned the scale in favour of Jourdan, had this last not unfortunately conceived that two divisions only were opposing his passage to Wurtzburg.

XLI.

When you have resolved to fight a battle, collect your whole force; dispense with nothing; a single battalion sometimes decides the day.

It might here be observed, that it is prudent before a battle to fix upon some point in rear of the reserve for the junction of the different detachments; for if, from unforeseen circum-

stances, these detachments should be prevented from joining before the action has commenced, they would be exposed, in case a retrograde movement should have been found necessary, to the masses of the enemy. It is desirable also to keep the enemy in ignorance of these reinforcements in order to employ them with greater effect. A seasonable reinforcement, says Frederick, renders the success of the battle certain, because the enemy will always imagine it stronger than it is, and lose courage accordingly.

XLII.

Nothing is so rash or so contrary to principle, as to make a flank march before an army in position, especially when this army occupies heights at the foot of which you are forced to defile.

It was by the neglect of this principle that Frederick was beaten at Kolin, in the first campaign of 1757. Notwithstanding prodigies of valour, the Prussians lost 15,000 men and a great portion of their artillery, while the loss of the Austrians did not exceed 5,000 men. The consequence of this battle was more unfortunate still, since it obliged the King of Prussia to raise the siege of Prague and to evacuate Bohemia.

It was also by making a flank march before the Prussian army, that the French lost the battle of Rosbach.

This imprudent movement was still more to be reprehended, because the Prince de Soubise, who commanded the French army, had carried his indiscretions so far as to manœuvre, without either advanced guards or flanking corps, in presence of the enemy. The result was, that his army, consisting of 50,000 men, was beaten by six battalions and thirty squadrons. The French lost 7,000 men, twenty-seven standards, and a great number of cannon. The Prussians had only 3,000 men *hors de combat.*

Thus, by having forgotten this principle, *that a flank march is never to be made before an enemy in line of battle,* Frederick lost his army at Kolin; and Soubise, at Rosbach, lost both his army and his honour.

XLIII.

When you determine to risk a battle, reserve to yourself every possible chance of success, more particularly if you have to deal with an adversary of superior talent; for if you are beaten, even in the midst of your magazines and your communications, woe to the vanquished!

We should make war, says Marshal Saxe, without leaving anything to hazard; and in this especially consists the talent of a general. But when we have incurred the risk of a battle, we should know how to profit by the victory, and not merely content ourselves, according to custom, with possession of the field.

It was by neglecting to follow up the first success, that the Austrian army, after gaining the field of Marengo, saw itself compelled on the following day to evacuate the whole of Italy.

General Melas, observing the French in retreat, left the direction of the movements of his army to the chief of his staff, and retired to Alexandria to repose from the fatigues of the day. Colonel Zach, equally convinced with his general that the French army was completely broken, and consisted only of fugitives, formed the divisions in column of route. By this arrangement the imperial army prepared to enter upon its victorious march in a formation not less than three miles in depth.

It was near four o'clock when General Dessaix rejoined the French army with his division. His presence restored, in some degree, an equality between the contending forces; and yet Napoleon hesitated for a moment whether to resume the offensive, or to make use of this corps to secure his retreat. The ardour of the troops to return to the charge decided his irresolution. He rode rapidly along the front of his divisions, and addressing the soldiers, "*We have retired far enough for to-day, you know I always sleep upon the field of battle.*"

The army, with unanimous shout, proclaimed to him a promise of victory. Napoleon resumed the offensive. The Austrian advanced guard, panic-struck at the sight of a formidable and unbroken body presenting itself suddenly at a

point where, a few moments before, only fugitives were to be seen, went to the right-about, and carried disorder into the mass of its columns. Attacked immediately afterwards with impetuosity in its front and flank, the Austrian army was completely routed.

Marshal Daun experienced nearly the same fate as General Melas, at the battle of Torgau, in the campaign of 1760. The position of the Austrian army was excellent. It had its left upon Torgau, its right on the plateau of Siptitz, and its front covered by a large sheet of water.

Frederick proposed to turn its right in order to make an attack upon the rear. For this purpose he divided his army into two corps, the one under the orders of Ziethen, with instructions to attack in front, following the edge of the water; the other, under his own immediate command, with which he set out to turn the right of the Austrians; but Marshal Daun having had intimation of the movements of the enemy, changed his front by countermarching, and was thus enabled to repel the attacks of Frederick, whom he obliged to retreat. The two corps of the Prussian army had been acting without communication. Zeithen, in the meantime, hearing the fire recede, concluded that the king had been beaten, and commenced a movement by his left in order to rejoin him; but falling in with two battalions of the reserve, the Prussian general profited by this reinforcement to resume the offensive. Accordingly he renewed the attack with vigour, got possession of the plateau of Siptitz, and soon after of the whole field of battle. The sun had already set when the King of Prussia received the news of this unexpected good fortune. He returned in all haste, took advantage of the night to restore order in his disorganized army, and the day after the battle occupied Torgau.

Marshal Daun was receiving congratulations upon his victory when he heard that the Prussians had resumed the offensive. He immediately commanded a retreat, and at daybreak the Austrians passed the Elbe with the loss of 12,000 men, 8,000 prisoners, and forty-five pieces of cannon.

After the battle of Marengo, General Melas, although in

the midst of his fortresses and magazines, saw himself compelled to abandon everything in order to save the wreck of his army. General Mack capitulated after the battle of Ulm, although in the centre of his own country.

The Prussians, in spite of their depôts and reserve, were obliged, after the battle of Jena, and the French after that of Waterloo, to lay down their arms.

Hence we may conclude, that the misfortune that results from the loss of a battle, does not consist so much in the destruction of men and of *matériel* as in the discouragement which follows this disaster. The courage and confidence of the victors augment in proportion as those of the vanquished diminish; and whatever may be the resources of an army, it will be found that retreat will degenerate rapidly into a rout, unless the general-in-chief shall succeed, by combining boldness with skill, and perseverance with firmness, in restoring the *morale* of his army.

XLIV.

The duty of an advanced guard does not consist in advancing or retiring, but in manœuvring. An advanced guard should be composed of light cavalry, supported by a reserve of heavy guards, by battalions of infantry, supported also by artillery. An advanced guard should consist of picked troops, and the general officers, officers and men, should be selected for their respective capabilities and knowledge. A corps deficient in instruction, is only an embarrassment to an advanced guard.

It was the opinion of Frederick, that an advanced guard should be composed of detachments of troops of all arms. The commander should possess skill in the choice of ground, and he should take care to be instantly informed, by means of numerous patroles, of everything passing in the enemy's camp.

In war, it is not the business of the advanced guard to fight, but to observe the enemy, in order to cover the movements of the army. When in pursuit, the advanced guard should charge with vigour, and cut off the baggage and insulated corps of the retiring enemy. For this purpose it should

be reinforced with all the disposable light cavalry of the army.

XLV.

When the Athenians were in a state of hostility with Philip of Macedon, Demosthenés, who was an advocate of the war, advised the Athenians to make the war at the greatest distance they could from Attica. Phocion, who opposed the war, said to him, "My friend, *consider not so much where we shall fight, as how we shall conquer; for victory is the only thing that can keep the war at a distance:* if we are beaten, every danger will soon be at our gates."

XLVI.

It is contrary to all the usages of war, to allow parks or batteries of artillery to enter a defile unless you hold the other extremity. In case of retreat, the guns will embarrass your movements and be lost. They should be left in position under a sufficient escort until you are master of the opening.

Nothing encumbers the march of an army so much as a quantity of baggage. In the campaign of 1796, Napoleon abandoned his battering train under the wall of Mantua, after spiking his guns and destroying the carriages. By this sacrifice, he acquired a facility of manœuvring rapidly his little army, and obtained the initiative as well as a general superiority over the numerous but divided forces of Marshal Wurmser.

In 1799, during his retreat in Italy, General Moreau being compelled to manœuvre among the mountains, preferred separating himself entirely from his reserve artillery, which he directed upon France by the Col de Fenestrelle, rather than embarrass his march with this part of his equipment.

XLVII.

Plutarch tells us that when Alexander the Great besieged Sisimethres upon a rock extremely steep and apparently inaccessible, and saw his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether Sisimethres was a man of spirit?" And being answered, "That he was timorous and dastardly," he said, "*You inform me the rock may be*

taken, since there is no strength in its defender." He intimidated Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

XLVIII.

It should be laid down as a principle, never to leave intervals by which the enemy can penetrate between corps formed in order of battle, unless it be to draw him into a snare.

In the campaign of 1757, the Prince of Lorraine, who was covering Prague with the Austrian army, perceived the Prussians threatening, by a flank movement, to turn his right. He immediately ordered a partial change of front by throwing back the infantry of that wing, so as to form a right angle with the rest of the line. But this manœuvre being executed in presence of the enemy, was not effected without some disorder. The heads of the columns having marched too quick, caused the rear to lengthen out, and when the line was formed to the right, a large interval appeared at the salient angle. Frederick, observing this error, hastened to take advantage of it. He directed his centre corps, commanded by the Duke of Bevern, to throw itself into this opening, and by this manœuvre decided the fate of the battle.

The Prince of Lorraine returned to Prague, beaten and pursued, with the loss of 16,000 men, and two hundred pieces of cannon.

It should be observed at the same time, that this operation of throwing a corps into the intervals made by an army in line of battle, should never be attempted unless you are at least equal in force, and have an opportunity of outflanking the enemy on the one side or on the other; for it is then only you can hope to divide his army in the centre, and insulate the wings entirely. If you are inferior in number, you run the risk of being stopped by the reserve, and overpowered by the enemy's wings, which may deploy upon your flank and surround you.

XLIX.

The right ordering of an army, whether in marching, fighting, or encamping, is but a small part of the office of a general, said Socrates: for he must likewise take care that none

of the necessaries of war be wanting, and that his soldiers are supplied with everything needful, as well for their health as daily subsistence. He should be diligent, patient, fruitful in expedient, quick in apprehension, unwearied in labour; mildness and severity must each have their place in him: equally able to secure his own, and take away that which belongeth to another. Open, yet reserved; rapacious, yet profuse; generous, yet avaricious; cautious, yet bold; besides many other talents, both natural and acquired, are necessary for him who would discharge properly the duties of a good general. Yet I do not esteem the right disposition of an army a slight thing; on the contrary, said he, nothing can be of so much importance, since, without order, no advantage can arise from numbers any more than from stones, and bricks, and tiles, and timbers, thrown together at random; but when they are disposed in their proper places, we may see a regular edifice arising, which afterward becomes no inconsiderable part of our possessions.

L.

When the enemy's army is covered by a river, upon which he holds several *têtes de ponts*, do not attack in front. This would divide your force and expose you to be turned. Approach the river in echelon of columns, in such a manner that the leading columns shall be the only one the enemy can attack without offering you his flank. In the meantime let your light troops occupy the bank, and when you have decided on the point of passage, rush upon it and fling across your bridge. Observe, that the point of passage should be always at a distance from the leading echelon, in order to deceive the enemy.

If you occupy a town or village on the bank of a river, opposite to that held by the enemy, it is an advantage to make this spot the crossing point, because it is easier to cover your carriages and reserve artillery, as well as to mask the construction of your bridge in a town than in the open country. It is also a great advantage to pass a river opposite a village when this last is only weakly occupied; because as soon as the advanced guard reaches the other side, it carries

this post, makes a lodgment, and by throwing up a few defensive works, converts it easily into a *tête de pont.*

By this means, the rest of the army is enabled to effect the passage with facility.

LI.

From the moment you are master of a position which commands the opposite bank, facilities are acquired for effecting the passage of the river; above all, if this position is sufficiently extensive to place upon it artillery in force. This advantage is diminished, if the river is more than six hundred yards in breadth, because the distance being out of the range of grape, it is easy for the troops which defend the passage to line the bank and get under cover. Hence it follows, that if the grenadiers ordered to pass the river for the protection of the bridge, should reach the other side, they would be destroyed by the fire of the enemy, because his batteries, placed at the distance of four hundred yards from the landing, are capable of the most destructive effect, although removed above one thousand yards from the batteries of the crossing force. Thus the advantage of the artillery would be exclusively his. For the same reason, the passage is impracticable unless you succeed in surprising the enemy, and are protected by an intermediate island, or unless you are able to take advantage of an angle in the river to establish a cross-fire upon his works. In this case, the island or angle forms a natural *tête de pont,* and gives advantage in artillery to the attacking army. When a river is less than one hundred and twenty yards in breadth, and you have a post upon the other side, the troops which are thrown across derive such advantage from the protection of your artillery, that, however small the angle may be, it is impossible for the enemy to prevent the establishment of a bridge. In this case, the most skilful generals, when they have discovered the project of their adversary, and brought their own army to the point of crossing, usually content themselves with opposing the passage of the bridge, by forming a semicircle round its extremity, as round the opening of a defile, and removing to

the distance of six or eight hundred yards from the fire of the opposite side.

Frederick observes, that the passage of great rivers in the presence of the enemy, is one of the most delicate operations in war. Success on these occasions depends on secrecy, on the rapidity of the manœuvres, and the punctual execution of the orders given for the movements of each division. To pass such an obstacle in presence of an enemy, and without his knowledge, it is necessary not only that the previous dispositions should be well conceived, but that they should be executed without confusion.

In the campaign of 1705, Prince Eugene of Savoy, wishing to come to the assistance of the Prince of Piedmont, sought for a favourable point at which to force the passage of the Adda, defended at that time by the French army under the command of the Duke of Vendome.

After having selected an advantageous situation, Prince Eugene erected a battery of twenty pieces of cannon, on a position which commanded the entire of the opposite banks, and covered his infantry by a line of entrenched parallels, constructed on the slope of the declivity.

They were working vigorously at the bridge, when the Duke of Vendome appeared with his whole army. At first he seemed determined to oppose its construction, but after having examined the position of Prince Eugene, he judged this to be impracticable.

He therefore placed his army out of reach of the prince's batteries, resting both his wings upon the river, so as to form a bow, of which the Adda was the chord. He then covered himself with entrenchments and abbatis, and was thus enabled to charge the enemy's columns whenever they debouched from the bridge, and to beat them in detail.

Eugene having reconnoitred the position of the French, considered the passage impossible. He therefore withdrew the bridge and broke up his camp during the night.

LII.

It is difficult to prevent an enemy supplied with pontoons, from crossing a river. When the object of an army which

defends the passage is to cover a siege, the moment the general has ascertained his inability to oppose the passage, he should take measures to arrive before the enemy, at an intermediate position between the river he defends and the place he desires to cover.

Here it may be observed, that this intermediate position should be reconnoitred, or rather well entrenched, beforehand; for the enemy will be unable to make an offensive movement against the corps employed in the siege, until he has beaten the army of observation; and this last, under cover of its camp, may always await a favourable opportunity to attack him in flank or in rear.

Besides, the army which is once entrenched in this manner, has the advantage of being concentrated; while that of the enemy must act in detachments, if he wishes to cover his bridge and watch the movements of the army of observation, so as to enable him to attack the besieging corps in its line, without being exposed to an attempt on his rear, or being menaced with the loss of his bridge.

LIII.

In the campaign of 1645, Turenne was attacked with his army before Philipsburg, by a very superior force. There was no bridge here over the Rhine, but he took advantage of the ground between the river and the place to establish his camp. This should serve as a lesson to engineer officers, not merely in the construction of fortresses, but of *têtes de pont*. A space should always be left between the fortress and the river, where an army may form and rally without being obliged to throw itself into the place, and thereby compromise its security. An army retiring upon Mayence before a pursuing enemy, is necessarily compromised; for this reason, because it requires more than a day to pass the bridge, and because the lines of Cassel are too confined to admit an army to remain there without being blocked up. Four hundred yards should have been left between that place and the Rhine. It is essential, that all *têtes de pont* before great rivers should be constructed upon this principle, otherwise they will prove a very inefficient assistance to protect the passage of a re-

treating army. *Têtes de pont*, as laid down in the French schools, are of use only for small rivers, the passage of which is comparatively short.

Marshal Saxe, in the campaign of 1741, having passed the Moldau in quest of a detachment of 14,000 men, which was about to throw itself into Prague, left a thousand infantry upon that river, with orders to entrench themselves upon a height directly opposite the *tête de pont*. By this precaution the marshal secured his retreat, and also the facility of repassing the bridge without disorder, by rallying his divisions between the entrenched height and the *tête de pont*.

LIV.

Encampments of the same army should always be formed so as to protect each other.

At the battle of Dresden, in the campaign of 1813, the camp of the allies, although advantageously placed upon the heights on the left bank of the Elbe, was nevertheless extremely defective, being traversed longitudinally by a deep ravine, which separated the left wing completely from the centre and the heights. This vicious formation did not escape the penetrating eye of Napoleon. He instantly carried the whole of his cavalry and two corps of infantry against the insulated wing, attacked it with superior numbers, overthrew it, and took 10,000 prisoners before it was possible to come to its support.

LV.

Lloyd says that sieges should never be undertaken but with the following views: 1st, when fortresses are situated upon the passages which lead to the enemy, so as to render it impossible to penetrate without capturing them; 2d, when they intercept the communications, and the country is unable to furnish the necessary subsistence; 3d, when they are wanted to cover magazines formed in the country, and thereby to facilitate the operations; 4th, when the enemy has considerable depôts within the fortress, of which he is absolutely in want; 5th, when the capture of a fortress produces the conquest of a considerable tract of country, and enables the besiegers to winter in that vicinity. To these may be added,

6th, the recapture of a fortress essential in the defence of a frontier.

As Lloyd has just told us *when* to undertake a siege, we will now hear Napoleon, who tells us *how* to do it.

There are only two ways of insuring the success of a siege. The first, to begin by beating the enemy's army employed to cover the place; forcing it out of the field, and throwing its remains beyond some great natural obstacle, such as a chain of mountains or large river. Having accomplished this object, an army of observation should be placed behind the natural obstacle, until the trenches are finished and the place taken.

But if it be desired to take the place in presence of a relieving army without risking a battle, then the whole material and equipment for a siege are necessary to begin with, together with ammunition and provisions for the presumed period of its duration, and also lines of contravallation and circumvallation, aided by all the localities of heights, woods, marshes and inundations.

Having no longer occasion to keep up communications with your depôts, it is now only requisite to hold in check the relieving army. For this purpose an army of observation should be formed, whose business it is never to lose sight of that of the enemy, and which, while it effectually bars all access to the place, has always time enough to arrive upon his flanks or rear in case he should attempt to steal a march.

It is to be remembered too, that by profiting judiciously by the lines of contravallation, a portion of the besieging army will always be available in giving battle to the approaching enemy.

Upon the same general principle, when a place is to be besieged in presence of an enemy's army, it is necessary to cover the siege by lines of *circumvallation*.

If the besieging force is of numerical strength enough (after leaving a corps before the place four times the amount of the garrison) to cope with the relieving army, it may remove more than one day's march from the place; but if it is inferior in numbers, after providing for the siege as above

stated, it should remain only a short day from the spot, in order to fall back upon its lines if necessary, or receive succour in case of attack.

If the investing corps and army of observation are only equal, when united, to the relieving force, the besieging army should remain entire, within or near its lines, and push the works and the siege with the greatest activity.

When we undertake a siege, says Montecuculli, we should not seek to place ourselves opposite the weakest part of the fortress, but at the point most favourable for establishing a camp and executing the designs we have in view. This maxim was well understood by the Duke of Warwick. Sent to form the siege of Nice, in 1706, he determined to attack on the side of Montalban, contrary to the advice of Vauban, and even to the orders of the king. Having a very small army at his disposal, he began by securing his camp. This he did by constructing redoubts upon the heights that shut in the space between the Var and the Paillon, two rivers which supported his flanks. By this means he protected himself against a surprise; for, the Duke of Savoy having the power of debouching suddenly by the Col de Tende, it was necessary that the marshal should be enabled to move rapidly upon his adversary, and fight him before he got into position, otherwise his inferiority in numbers would have obliged him to raise the siege.

When Marshal Saxe was besieging Brussels with only 28,000 men, opposed to a garrison of 12,000, he received intelligence that the Prince of Waldeck was assembling his forces to raise the siege. Not being strong enough to form an army of observation, the marshal reconnoitred the field of battle on the little river Volave, and made all the necessary dispositions for moving rapidly to the spot in case of the approach of the enemy. By this means he was prepared to receive his adversary without discontinuing the operations of the siege.

LVI.

If circumstances prevent a sufficient garrison being left to defend a fortified town which contains an hospital and maga-

zines, at least every means should be employed to secure the citadel against a *coup de main*.

A few battalions dispersed about a town inspire no terror, but shut up in the narrow outline of a citadel, they assume an imposing attitude. For this reason it appears that such a precaution is always necessary, not only in fortresses, but wherever there are hospitals or depôts of any kind. Where there is no citadel, some quarter of the town should be fixed upon most favourable for defence, and entrenched in such a manner as to oppose the greatest resistance possible.

LVII.

A fortified place can only protect the garrison and arrest the enemy for a certain time. When this time has elapsed, and the defences are destroyed, the garrison should lay down its arms. All civilized nations are agreed on this point, and there never has been an argument except with reference to the greater or less degree of defence which a defender is bound to make before he capitulates. At the same time, there are generals, Villars among the number, who are of opinion that the commander should never surrender, but that in the last extremity he should blow up the fortifications, and take advantage of the night to cut his way through the besieging army. Where he is unable to blow up the fortifications, he may always retire, they say, with the garrison, and save the men.

Officers who have adopted this line of conduct, have often brought off three-fourths of their garrison.

In 1705 the French, who were besieged in Haguenau by Count Thungen, found themselves incapable of sustaining an assault. Peri, the governor, who had already distinguished himself by a vigorous defence, despairing of being allowed to capitulate on any terms short of becoming prisoners of war, resolved to abandon the place, and cut his way through the besiegers.

In order to conceal his intention more effectually, and, while he deceived the enemy, to sound at the same time the disposition of his officers, he assembled a council of war, and declared his resolution to die in the breach. Then, under

pretext of the extremity to which he was reduced, he commanded the whole garrison under arms, and leaving only a few sharp-shooters in the breach, gave the order to march, and set out in silence under cover of the night from Haguenau. This audacious enterprise was crowned with success, and Peri reached Saverne without having suffered the smallest loss.

In a situation like this, much depends upon circumstances as to the course most proper to be pursued. As *all real strength is founded in the mind*, the courage and abilities of the officers and the spirit of the soldiers are among the primary considerations.

LVIII.

The keys of a fortress are well worth the retirement of the garrison, when it is resolved to yield only on those conditions. On this principle, it is always wiser to grant an honourable capitulation to a garrison, which has made a vigorous resistance, than to risk an assault.

Marshal Villars has observed, that no commander of a place should be permitted to excuse himself for surrendering, on the ground of wishing to preserve his troops. Every garrison that displays courage will escape being prisoners of war; for there is no general who, however well assured of carrying a place by assault, will not prefer granting terms of capitulation, rather than risk the loss of a thousand men in forcing determined troops to surrender.

LIX.

A general can only bring his soldiers to obedience by convincing them of his superior knowledge and skill; for, says Socrates, all men willingly submit to those whom they believe the most skilful; in sickness, to the best physician; in a storm, to the best pilot.

This maxim is too obvious to require any illustration, a number of which we might find in our own country, but all these we shall reserve until we come to describe the American campaigns.

LX.

Infantry, cavalry, and artillery, are nothing without each

other. They should always be so disposed in cantonments as to assist each other in case of surprise.

A general, says Frederick, should direct his whole attention to the tranquillity of his cantonments, in order that the soldier may be relieved from all anxiety, and repose in security from his fatigues. With this view, care should be taken that the troops are able to form rapidly upon ground which has been previously reconnoitred; that the generals remain always with their divisions or brigades, and that the service is carried on throughout with exactness.

LXI.

The practice of mixing small bodies of infantry and cavalry together is a bad one, and attended with many inconveniences. The cavalry loses its powers of action; it becomes fettered in all its movements; its energy is destroyed; even the infantry itself is compromised, for on the first movement of the cavalry it is left without support. The best mode of protecting cavalry is to cover its flanks.

LXII.

Charges of cavalry are equally useful at the beginning, the middle, and the end of a battle. They should be made, always, if possible, on the flank of the infantry, especially when this last is engaged in front.

The Archduke Charles, in speaking of cavalry, recommends that it should be brought in mass upon a decisive point, when the moment of employing it arrives; that is to say, when it can attack with a certainty of success. As the rapidity of its movements enables cavalry to act along the whole line in the same day, the general who commands it should keep it together as much as possible, and avoid dividing it into many detachments. When the nature of the ground admits of cavalry being employed on all points of the line, it is desirable to form it in columns behind the infantry, and in a position whence it may be easily directed wherever it is required. If cavalry is intended to cover a position, it should be placed sufficiently in the rear to meet at full speed any advance of troops coming to attack that position. If it is

destined to cover the flank of the infantry, it should, for the same reason, be placed directly behind it. As the object of cavalry is purely offensive, it should be a rule to form it at such a distance only from the point of collision, as to enable it to acquire its utmost impulse, and arrive at the top of its speed into action. With respect to the cavalry reserve, this should only be employed at the end of a battle, either to render the success more decisive, or to cover the retreat.

Napoleon remarks that, at the battle of Waterloo, the cavalry of the guard, which composed the reserve, was engaged against his orders. He complains of having been deprived from five o'clock of the use of this reserve, which, when well employed, had so often insured him the victory.

LXIII.

It is not only the business of cavalry to follow up the victory and prevent the beaten enemy from rallying, but it is of the greatest importance to victor or vanquished to have a body of cavalry in reserve to take advantage of victory, or to secure retreat.

LXIV.

Artillery is more essential to cavalry than to infantry, because cavalry has no fire for its defence, but depends upon the sabre. It is to remedy this deficiency that recourse has been had to horse artillery. Cavalry, therefore, should never be without cannon, whether when attacking, rallying, or in position.

Horse artillery is an invention of Frederick. Austria lost no time in introducing it into her armies, although in an imperfect degree. It was only in 1792, that this arm was adopted in France, where it was brought rapidly to its present perfection.

LXV.

Artillery should always be placed in the most advantageous positions, and as far in front of the line of cavalry and infantry, without compromising the safety of the guns, as possible.

Field batteries should command the whole country round, from the level of the platform. They should on no account

be masked on the right and left, but have free range in every direction.

The battery of eighteen pieces of cannon, which covered the centre of the Russian army at the battle of La Moskwa (Borodino), may be cited as an example.

Its position, upon a circular height which commanded the field in every direction, added so powerfully to its effects, that its fire alone sufficed, for a considerable time, to paralyze the vigorous attack made by the French with their right. Although twice broken, the left of the Russian army closed to this battery, as to a pivot, and twice recovered its former position. After repeated attacks, conducted with a rare intrepidity, the battery was at length carried by the French, but not till they had lost the *élite* of their army, and with it the generals Caulincourt and Montbrun. Its capture decided the retreat of the Russian left.

LXVI.

All information obtained from prisoners should be received with caution, and estimated at its real value. A soldier seldom sees anything beyond his company; and an officer can afford intelligence of little more than the position and movements of the division to which his regiment belongs. On this account, the general of an army should never depend upon the information derived from prisoners, unless it agrees with the reports received from the advanced guards, in reference to the positions, &c., of the enemy.

Montecuculli wisely observes, that prisoners should be interrogated separately, in order to ascertain, by the agreement in their answers, how far they may be endeavouring to mislead you.

LXVII.

There is but one honourable mode of becoming prisoners of war. That is by being taken separately; by which is meant, by being cut off entirely, and when we can no longer make use of our arms. In this case there can be no conditions, for honour can impose none: we yield to an irresistible fate.

There is always time enough to surrender prisoners of war. This should be deferred, therefore, till the last extremity.

During the French revolution, the captain of grenadiers, Dubrenil, of the 37th regiment of the line, having been sent on a detachment with his company, was stopped on the march by a large party of Cossacks, who surrounded him on every side. Dubrenil formed his little force into square, and endeavoured to gain the skirts of a wood (within a few muskets' shot of the spot where he had been attacked), and reached it with very little loss. But as soon as the grenadiers saw this refuge secured to them, they broke and fled, leaving their captain and a few brave men, who were resolved not to abandon him, at the mercy of the enemy. In the meantime the fugitives, who had rallied in the depth of the wood, ashamed of having forsaken their leader, came to the resolution of rescuing him from the enemy if a prisoner, or of carrying off his body if he had fallen. With this view they formed once more upon the outskirts, and opening a passage with their bayonets through the cavalry, penetrated to their captain, who, notwithstanding seventeen wounds, was defending himself still. They immediately surrounded him, and regained the wood with little loss. This shows how much may be achieved in war by determined energy and sustained resolution.

LXVIII.

The first qualification of a general-in-chief is a cool head—that is, a head which receives just impressions, and estimates things and objects at their real value. He must not allow himself to be elated by good news, or depressed by bad.

The impressions he receives, either successively or simultaneously, in the course of the day, should be so classed as to take up only the exact place in his mind which they deserve to occupy; since it is upon a just comparison of the weight due to different impressions, that the power of reasoning and of right judgment depends.

Some men are so physically and morally constituted as to see everything through a highly coloured medium. They raise up a picture in the mind on every slight occasion, and give to every trivial occurrence a dramatic interest. But whatever knowledge, or talent, or courage, or other good

qualities such men may possess, nature has not formed them for the command of armies, or the direction of great military operations.

The first quality of a general-in-chief, says Montecuculli, is a great knowledge of the art of war. This is not intaitive, but the result of experience. A man is not born a commander; he must become one. Not to be anxious; to be always cool; to avoid confusion in his commands; never to change countenance; to give his orders in the midst of battle with as much composure as if he were perfectly at ease,—these are the proofs of valour in a general.

To encourage the timid; to increase the number of the truly brave; to revive the drooping ardour of the troops in battle; to rally those who are broken; to bring back to the charge those who are repulsed; to find resources in difficulty, and success even amid disaster; to be ready at a moment to devote himself if necessary for the welfare of his country—these are the actions which acquire for a general distinction and renown.

To this enumeration may be added, the talent of discriminating character, and of employing every man in the particular post which nature has qualified him to fill. My principal attention, said Marshal Villars, was always directed to the study of the younger generals. Such a one I found by the boldness of his character fit to lead a column of attack. Another, from a disposition naturally cautious, but without being deficient in courage, more perfectly to be relied on for the defence of a place. It is only by a just application of these personal qualities to their respective objects, that it is possible to command success in war.

LXIX.

To know the country thoroughly; to be able to conduct a *reconnoissance* with skill; to superintend the transmission of orders promptly; to lay down the most complicated movements intelligibly, but in a few words and with simplicity; these are the leading qualifications which should distinguish an officer selected for the head of the staff.

Formerly the duties of the chief of the staff were confined

to the necessary preparations for carrying the plan of the campaign, and the operations resolved on by the general-in-chief, into effect. In a battle they were only employed in directing movements, and superintending their execution. But in the late European wars the officers of the staff were frequently entrusted with the command of a column of attack, or of large detachments, when the general-in-chief feared to disclose the secret of his plans by the transmission of orders or instructions. Great advantages have resulted from this innovation, although it was long resisted. By this means the staff have been enabled to perfect their theory by practice; and they have acquired, moreover, the esteem of the soldiers and junior officers of the line, who are easily led to think lightly of their superiors, whom they do not see fighting in the ranks. The generals who have held the arduous situation of chief of the staff during the wars of the French revolution, have almost always been employed in the different branches of the profession. Marshal Berthier, who filled so conspicuously this appointment to Napoleon, was distinguished by all the essentials of a general; he possessed calm, and at the same time brilliant courage, excellent judgment, and approved experience. He bore arms during half a century, made war in the four quarters of the globe, opened and terminated thirty-two campaigns. In his youth he acquired, under the eye of his father, who was an engineer officer, the talent of tracing plans and finishing them with exactness, as well as the preliminary qualifications necessary to form a staff officer. Admitted by the Prince de Lambesq into his regiment of dragoons, he was taught the skilful management of his horse and his sword, accomplishments so important to a soldier. Attached afterwards to the staff of *Count Rochambeau*, he made his first campaign in the *United States*, where he soon began to distinguish himself by his valour, activity and talents. His subsequent history is connected with the wars of Napoleon.

LXX.

Napoleon says, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, and Frederick, as well as Alexander, Hannibal and Cæsar, have all

acted upon the same principles. These have been, to keep their forces united—to leave no weak part unprotected—to seize with rapidity on important points. He then advises his generals to peruse again and again the campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Eugene and Frederick: to model themselves upon them as the means of becoming a great captain, and of acquiring the secret of the art of war.

LXXI.

Such are the war maxims which have resulted from the experience of the great warriors of ancient and modern times in the old world.

The maxims of our warriors will be given *practically* hereafter, when it will be seen that our *fundamental* maxim is to give a sound beating to any nation that sets a hostile foot on our shores, or insults our flag on the sea, *according to circumstances!*—Illustrations. Revolution, the late War, &c.

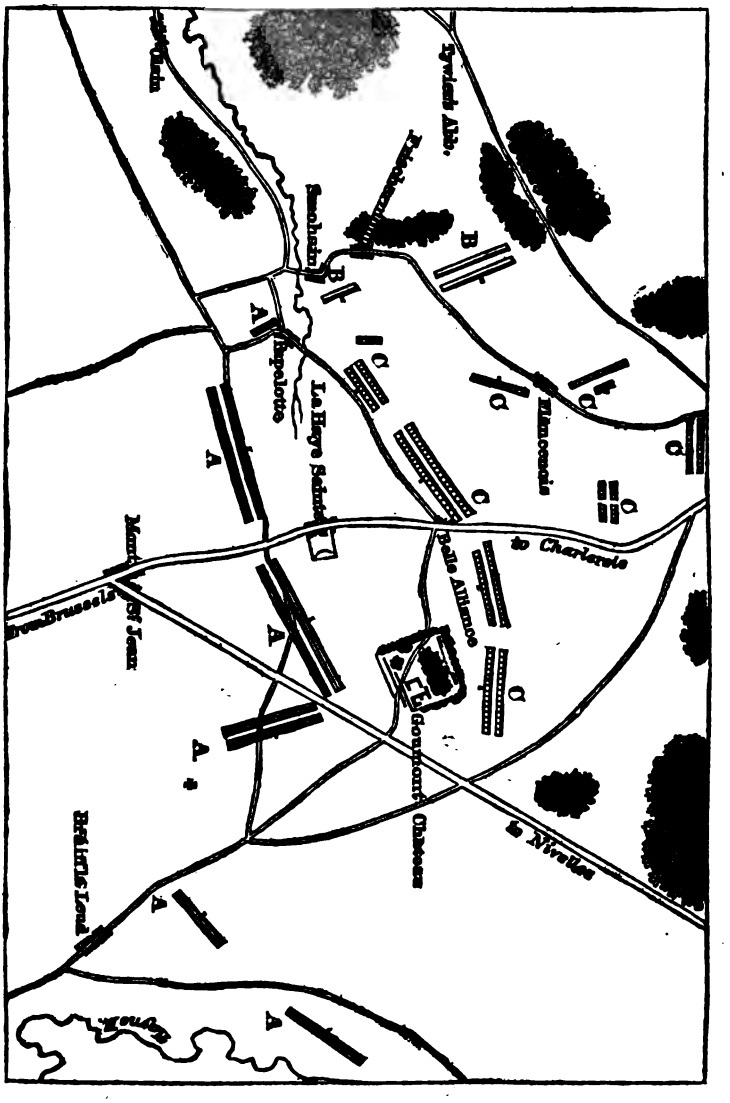
Principles of Dispositions at the Battle of Waterloo.

The battle of Waterloo, unquestionably the most decisive event of the late awful contest, offers so many instructive circumstances, and so much matter for deep meditation, in the position and manœuvres, and in the exhibition of the soundest maxims of war, that it may be considered as a general illustration of the advanced state of the art of war at the present period. Without entering into details, the minutiæ of which are apt to confuse, we shall content ourselves with merely pointing out the principal dispositive features which it displays. As there are many plans more or less correct, and the ground is generally known, the remarks which we are about to offer will be readily understood by those who have any elementary knowledge of war. When Blucher had retreated from Ligny, and the Duke of Wellington had fallen back from Quatre Bras, he occupied the position of Mont St. Jean, determined to risk a battle with the forces he could collect on that point. Exclusively of the Prussians, whose severe loss in killed, wounded, and stragglers, could not immediately be re-organized or replaced, but by the expected

arrival of the corps of Bulow, the duke's army consisted of about eighty-one battalions and eighty-seven squadrons, which, with the artillery, may have amounted to 66,700 men: of these, upwards of thirty battalions and as many squadrons had never been in action.

This mass of forces was posted with the centre diagonally across and in front of the forking of the two causeways from Brussels to Charleroy and to Nivelles; the right centre behind the chateau of Goumont, and the left, considerably refused, passed in the rear of La Haye Sainte, along the cross-road, in the direction of Ohain: behind the right centre, Lord Hill placed his corps, *en potence*, in columns, prepared to manœuvre on his right, on the small plain of Braine la Leud; or, to his left, to sustain the centre. In and about Braine la Leud was a Netherland division, with the right thrown forward, and covered by the rivulet Hain, and leaving the small plain open; a kind of gorge to tempt the enemy between the two sides of the re-entering angle of the right wing. The Prussians were expected to debouch through the woods of Lasne, towards Planchenois, which would form the left into another gorge, or re-entering angle. Thus the position formed a kind of open W (Fig. 15, A A A A B B), with the chateau of Goumont at the summit of the salient angle, covered by a plantation of wood and enclosures, occupied by six or eight battalions; so that the enemy could not enfilade, from behind that plantation, either of the faces of the centre, nor approach on either of the causeways which passed through the centre, without presenting his flank. Besides this point, La Haye Sainte, a stone farm, close to the Chaussé of Charleroy, and farther on the left the farm of Papelotte and chateau of Frichermont, were occupied. The whole front offered a gentle slope towards the enemy, and in the rear the cavalry was distributed in brigades, each in two lines, covered by the rising ground; and the artillery, all the field-pieces of which were nine-pounders or twelves, formed a line of almost contiguous batteries along the front, interspersed with howitzers and rockets.

By the returns found after the battle it appears that the



The letters AAA indicate the position of the British army, BB that of the Prussian, and CCCC that of the French.

enemy had debouched from Charleroy with 122,000 men, exclusive of the reinforcements that joined after the 15th of June: of these he produced on the field of battle about 80,000 men, formed in concentrated masses on both sides of the Chaussé of Charleroy, and gradually advancing the right parallel to the British left (C C C C); but as he was jealous of the woods on the right, he formed an angle to the rear, and kept his reserves far back. He had made a demonstration with a corps of cavalry beyond the British right, towards Hal, where he found the corps of General Colville, and Prince Frederick of Orange, with two divisions posted at Tubise, Clabbeck, and Braine le Chateau, to cover that avenue to Brussels. Another corps, 42,000 strong, under Grouchy, was detached to his right upon Wavre, to turn the allies, pursue or arrest the Prussians, and prevent the timely junction of Bulow. Thus the dispositions of both the commanders were combined with consummate ability; Napoleon operating on the system of throwing two-thirds of his masses alternately on either side, and the allies in combining manœuvres to bring a superior mass on the decisive point. On the field, however, the problem was difficult to solve. The communication with France was open only by the roads of Charleroy and Nivelles, hence the enemy could not quit them in the attack; nor could he gain Brussels by any other avenue than that of Waterloo; therefore, to possess the Chateau of Goumont, without which he could not arrive at the position, was the natural object of the attack. As this was sustained by the mass of the allied army, and could not be enfiladed, his attacks failed. All those directed on the road of Charleroy to the left centre were necessarily oblique, and exposed to the fire in flank before they could reach their opponents. To have risked a general onset of all his masses, before the British were thinned and exhausted, he knew, under the circumstances of the moment, to be too hazardous. The plain of Braine la Leud appeared open; he could arrive by it; but that very circumstance proved that the enemy was prepared on that side. To have turned the force thither would, in the first place, have caused the loss of the communication by

Charleroy; and, next, facilitated the junction of the Prussians; and, besides, the corps on the other side of the Hain flanked the advance, and could, in a short time, be sustained by the two divisions in its rear, and which he knew to be at hand. He would, therefore, have been placed between two fires, and have lost his point of retreat upon Charleroy; and the road by Nivelles might, meantime, be cut off by the troops left behind at Mons. Again, if he threw his masses towards the left, he only went to meet the Prussians, and left the British masters of the road of Nivelles, and possibly, if he advanced far, of that of Charleroy. He entangled himself in woods and defiles, where his superior cavalry could not act. The character of his opponent bespoke immediate offensive movements from the moment his right would be at liberty; therefore the chances were again in favour of the enemy; yet this was the only advantageous side, because it brought him nearer Grouchy, and, in case of defeat, he could take a new line of retreat by Namur. He, however, preferred the experiment which the enthusiastic valour of his troops might enable him to make; and this committed him so deeply, that, when at length the Prussians appeared, a retreat was no longer possible.

These observations disprove the ignorant assertion, that little skill was displayed on either side. The generals and the soldiers equally did their duty: the veteran Blucher behaved with just prudence in keeping so long back from the dangerous manœuvre which was assigned him; and when he saw the hostile cavalry destroyed, he acted with vigour and skill. As for Grouchy, who wasted his time in forcing the position of Wavre across the Dyle, everywhere fordable, his manœuvres show that he felt the danger of his movement, and he wisely remained on the banks. Much might be added upon the judgment which posted the corps at Wavre, and another at Hal, on the several lines of retreat which the allies could take in case of defeat, on the dispositions of the artillery, the squares and lines formed and reduced repeatedly, the dispositions and effect of the charges of cavalry, the counter-offensive of the Prussians, the general charge to the

front, and fate of the enemy's squares; but enough has been stated to recommend the study of a battle where the greatest commanders and the best manœuvring armies in Europe struggled for victory, and decided whether the divine right of kings should or should not prevail.

Having thus given a compilation of the warlike operations by land, we shall now proceed to the warlike operations at sea, commencing with some general observations upon naval actions, from the "French Naval Tactics," as given in the Military and Naval Magazine of 1835.

CHAPTER II.

WARLIKE OPERATIONS AT SEA.

It is necessary, in fleets as well as in single vessels, to consider the *absolute force*, or material strength, resulting from the number of men and guns; and the *relative force*, which comprises all that superiority of talents, experience, boldness, activity, perseverance, discipline, in short, all that moral causes can add to the chances for success.

A commander cannot double the number of his men or his ships; but he may cause them to acquire a degree of *relative force*, which will be limited only by the extent of his ability, and the confidence which it inspires. The application of this principle must not, however, be pushed too far; for at sea, where there is no *permanent* position to be occupied or maintained, it is not always easy to preserve for a long time an equality between unequal *material* forces, when in presence of each other. But, if the commander cannot perform impossibilities, it is certain that he may supply, to a certain extent, the want of numbers, by his talents for command or

by the excellence of his preparatory arrangements: he may also supply the want of numbers, by calling to his aid, when opportunities may offer, that principle which is the proper basis of every military system, and which demands a vigorous and powerful attack upon a weak point of your enemy.

Thus, in consequence of an acquired superiority, or of the effects of a favourable position, or, what is still better, by a combination of both, a vessel of inferior force may resist another which is superior. The same may be said of a fleet of inferior numbers, even when possessed of no other means of balancing that inferiority than the power of throwing his whole, or a superior force, on a part of the opposing fleet. In this sense, skill consists in obtaining over an opponent the advantage of *absolute force*, by neutralizing a part of his, instead of attacking the whole, and engaging with equal chances or upon equal terms.

This being granted, it is apparent that as the power of a vessel is in her broadside, whilst her bow and stern are comparatively unarmed, the object to be desired in actions between single vessels is to obtain a position, either permanent or temporary, which will place the broadside on the bow or stern of the enemy.

By analogy, the same remark will apply to a line of vessels, of which the extremities are more vulnerable than the other parts. An attack upon one of these extremities should, therefore, be attempted, since the object of the assailant ought generally to be to compel a part of the fleet of the enemy to bear the fire of the whole of his own, and thus to destroy it in detail.

These observations lead to some remarks upon the *Line of Battle*, and upon the present system of fleet actions.

A very close line of ships, which move like one body, certainly presents a formidable front. Each ship, besides her own force, is supported by her connexion with others, which increases the strength of all; a combination which constitutes the advantages and the strength of the line of battle. But this combination, excellent in itself, and the best for a regular battle, may be destroyed by a change of wind, by a loss of

spars, by a fault, or even by the nature of the attack of an enemy, as events have shown.

The art of war is necessarily modified by time, by the opinions of men, and by the progress of the arts and sciences, which lead to new discoveries. Thus, steam-vessels have actually changed many parts of the maritime system of Europe. Half a century since, and numerous fleets were arranged in line; they manœuvred long and ably to obtain, by a good position, a partial advantage. A cannonade was kept up at a distance, from time to time, and generally the two fleets were able to renew the contest after a few days, scarcely weakened by the injuries which a small number of their ships had sustained. Since about the close of the war of the independence of the United States, the line of battle has been broken, and *pell-mell* actions fought, not accidentally, but in pursuance of previous plans. Less art, and more impetuosity, has been employed, as though actuated by a mutual desire to produce entire destruction, or at least great results.

In the present situation of things, belligerents will probably, in accordance with public opinion, strive to obtain prompt and decisive effects. Besides, the expense of large fleets begins to excite alarm; steam navigation has also begun to furnish its aid, if not for distant expeditions, at least for those operations which are to be performed upon neighbouring coasts, or in narrow seas, without speaking of the effects which certain improvements in artillery, and particularly the use of shells, may produce.

From these changes, which have occurred within the last fifty years, it may be concluded that there will be a tendency to diminish the numbers of ships in fleets, and that, hereafter, less attention will be given to the mere arrangements or display of force, and that greater exertions will be made to come to close quarters, and to *pell-mell* actions, or, at least, to produce decisive effects, at the expense of any regular order in which an enemy may appear to place too much confidence.

Thus the theory of battle in squadrons is so far definitively modified, that the *line of battle* is no longer to be considered

the whole of the system, although now rendered shorter and more manageable; but rather as a powerful means for advantageously sustaining, or for making an attack which will be powerful, and often followed by an intermixture of the contending ships. Consequently, if battles at sea become more rare, they will also be more decisive: success will always depend, when numbers are equal, upon the superiority of *relative force*, and upon the ability with which the attack may be conducted, and, still more than ever, upon the determination of brave commanders, attentive to sustain each other, in defence as well as in attack, and to group themselves together against opposing groups of less strength. In fact, it would be vain for an admiral to expect the successful execution of measures which he might direct, if he should not be seconded by admirals and captains, whose bravery and intelligence could supply the want of signals, and provide at the moment for everything which the position of the admiral and the rapidity of events might prevent him from seeing or directing. Without such complete and well-founded confidence, a chief cannot act with decision; or, in other words, he cannot succeed.

If it is only by profiting with vigour and promptitude of a first advantage, however small it may be, that others more important can be secured; in the same manner, it is only by the most energetic measures, that the first successes of an enemy can be checked, and victory wrested from him. In such circumstances, less regard should be had to our own injuries than to those of the enemy, in determining to continue or to renew the contest.

It is not to be inferred from the preceding remarks, that the science of combined movements has lost its utility; on the contrary, since battles have become more decisive, it is important to conduct them with all possible ability, or to avoid them when circumstances are unfavourable. Besides, now, as formerly, it depends at least as much on skill as devotedness, to supply upon occasions the want of numbers or strength.

If the system of fleet actions has been modified by the

progress of time, so also have those between single vessels. At a period when many of the distinguished seamen of whom France is proud fought their battles, boarding was the species of attack which was exclusively preferred; but this has been discontinued for a long time, in consequence of the progress of naval improvements.

At this time, more than ever, actions at sea are *battles of artillery and of manœuvres*, and the officer who, preoccupied with the idea of boarding, should not seek, and constantly endeavour to preserve, a position favourable for the use of his guns, would soon experience such injuries as would paralyze his bravery, by depriving him of the power of profiting of chances for boarding which might afterwards present themselves.

The means of securing success in a sea-fight, is to use the guns skilfully; it is, therefore, indispensable that thorough attention should be given to their exercise beforehand; that the captains of guns and others should be good marksmen; and that the whole crew should be instructed in the best manner in the management of the ship, so that they may feel great confidence whenever anything is to be undertaken or executed. A ship, thus prepared, may suddenly approach an enemy with safety, or, if necessary, try her skill in inflicting gradual injury, by well-directed shot. If the vessel attacked is to leeward, it may be advantageous for her to steer with the wind abeam, under a press of sail, to compel the assailant to do the same, and perhaps interfere with the use of his guns, or, by repeatedly changing her tack, profit by the position of the enemy, who must approach end on. The assailant, if to windward, will determine whether it will be best for him to take a position on the weather-bow of the enemy, engage upon opposite tacks, then go about and place himself on the weather-quarter, which is often the best position; or stand across his stern and take a station upon the lee-quarter, notwithstanding the inconveniences of that situation: whichever may be adopted, it is proper to observe, that an injury inflicted early upon the enemy, by well-directed shot, may greatly shorten the action.

If an adversary is allowed to take the lead in manœuvres, and to engage at that distance and under those circumstances which may be most favourable to him; or in an action, broadside to broadside, an enemy betrays any indecision, and an overwhelming fire shall have cleared his upper decks, then a change of the helm only, and a sudden movement, may be all that is necessary to finish suddenly, by boarding, an action already so far advanced by the effect of the guns. It may also happen that some failure in the evolutions of the enemy, or some new error, will present a favourable opportunity, which an able opponent will not fail to improve.

In fleets and squadrons, in the disorder of a broken line and intermixture of friends and foes, opportunities for boarding will be more frequent and less difficult. The result will be in proportion to the energies of the measures adopted.

Circumstances may occur, when, notwithstanding great disproportion of force, a vessel may save others, or obtain favourable chances for herself, by her devotedness or her boldness in closing so near an enemy as to inspire a fear of being boarded under circumstances favourable to the assailant.

As respects steam-vessels, it may be presumed that, as they facilitate sudden movements, they may second the ardour and boldness of the national character.

For the purpose of engaging in certain predetermined modes, and to supply for certain details the insufficiency of signals, it sometimes happens that admirals can usefully confine themselves to plans of operations, of which they furnish complete explanations to the captains under their orders. These plans ought to be few in number, perfectly simple and clear, and the explanations short; for, if the main object belongs to the chief, the incidents of detail necessarily devolve upon those who are to carry it into execution.

If the weather fleet has the great advantage of being master of its plans of attack, the lee fleet has sometimes the advantage of the faults of the other. Such may be the case when, regardless of breaking the line of battle, the lee fleet can be separated, without inconvenience, into two or three

divisions; provided all act in concert, and under the inspiration of that cool bravery which usually leads to success.

The most general remark upon this question is, that every plan of attack is good, if it renders a part of the force of the enemy useless; or, if it places a part of it under the fire of a superior force. The object to be desired being always, as has already been observed, to have the superiority upon some point, and then to profit suddenly by that advantage.

A war of *cruises*, by detached divisions, within proper limits, and in connexion with some general plan of hostilities, may have its influence upon the final result of a war; this species of warfare requires that the squadrons should be commanded by able and active chiefs, who have great resources in themselves, and in their knowledge of the localities where they are to carry the war.

Desirous to lay before our readers the best information on warlike operations, we shall give, entire, the illustrations of naval tactics by a late European author, which will be a new subject to many unconnected with the navy.

By *Naval Tactics* is understood the art of arranging fleets or squadrons in such an order or disposition as may be most convenient for attacking the enemy, defending themselves, or of retreating with the greatest advantage. Naval tactics are founded on those principles which time and experience have enabled us to deduce from the improved state of modern naval warfare, which has occasioned not only a difference in the mode of constructing the working ships, but even in the total disposition and regulation of fleets and squadrons. We here propose to lay down the general principles of naval tactics, and to describe, as briefly as is consistent with perspicuity, the most improved systems which have been adopted in modern times.

Ordinary Division of Fleets.

Fleets are generally divided into three squadrons, the van, centre, and rear, each under the command of a flag-officer. The chief in command of a fleet leads the centre division, while the van is commanded by the second in command, and

the rear by the third. Each squadron is distinguished by the position of the colours in the ships of which it is composed. Thus, the ships of the centre squadron carry their pennants at the main-top-gallant mast-head, while those of the van division have their pennants at the fore-top-gallant mast-head, and those of the rear at the mizen-top-mast-head. Each squadron, as far as possible, consists of the same number of ships, and, as nearly as may be, of the same force. In large fleets, the squadrons are sometimes again divided in a similar manner. In the usual mode of forming the lines, each commanding officer arranges his ships in the centre of his own squadron, and thus the chief commander of the fleet is in the centre of the line. When no enemy is in sight, the sloops, store-ships, fire-ships, and other small vessels, are dispersed to windward of the fleet, that they may be more easily supported, and more readily answer signals. The frigates lie to windward of the van and rear of the convoy; thus keeping a good look-out, and keeping the small vessels in their proper station. When the fleet sails in three columns, the centre still keeps in the middle, while the van and rear form the starboard or the larboard column, according to circumstances. These arrangements are called orders of sailing, and will be better understood from the following definitions.

Definitions.

The *starboard line of bearing* is that line on which the arranged ships of a fleet bear from each other on a close-hauled line, whatever course they may be steering; so that when the ships haul their wind or tack together, they may be on a line close-hauled upon the starboard tack. The *larboard line of bearing* is that line on which the ships, when hauling their wind or tacking together, may be formed on a line close-hauled on the larboard tack. The ships of a fleet are said to be on *a line abreast* when their keels are parallel to each other, and their main-masts lie in the same straight line. Ships are said to be in a line on the bow or quarter when they are arranged in a straight line, cutting their keels obliquely in the same angle; so that, reckoning from any

intermediate ship, the ships towards one extremity of the line will be on the bow of that ship, while those towards the other extremity will be on her quarter. When several ships in the same line steer the same course, while that course is different from the line of sailing, they are said to sail chequerwise.

When the ships of a fleet, arranged in any of the orders of sailing, and on the same line, perform successively the same manœuvre, as each gets into the wake of the ship that leads the van of the line or squadron, tacking or veering, bearing away or coming to the wind in the same point of the wake of the leading ship, they are said to *manœuvre in succession*.

Five Orders of Sailing.

There are usually reckoned five orders of sailing, exclusive of the line of battle, the order of retreat, &c. In the first order (see Figs. 1 and 2), the fleet is arranged on the *starboard* or *larboard* line of bearing, all the ships steering the

Fig. 1.

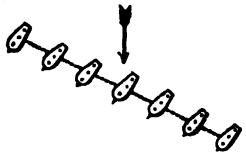
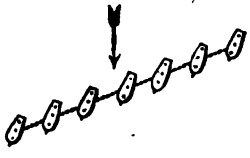


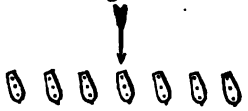
Fig. 2.



same course. In these cases the fleet, by hauling the wind when in the starboard line, as in Fig. 1, will be ready to form the line on the starboard tack; and when ranged on the larboard line of bearing, as in Fig. 2, it will, by tacking, be ready to form the line on the larboard tack. The arrows annexed to the diagrams mark the direction of the wind, as in ordinary charts.

The first order of sailing is now seldom employed, except in passing through a narrow strait. In the second order of sailing, the fleet, steering any proper course, is ranged in a line perpendicular to the direction of the wind, as in Fig. 3. This second order, besides being equally defective with the former, is sub-

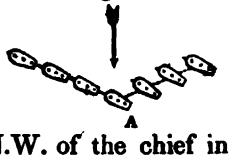
Fig. 3.



ject to the additional disadvantage of rendering it extremely difficult for the ships to tack, without each ship falling on board that next astern.

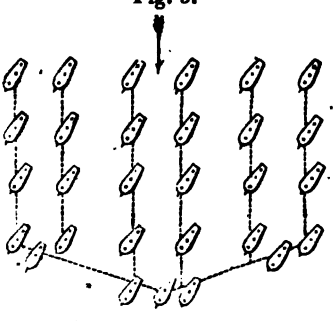
In the third order of sailing, the whole fleet is close-hauled, and ranged on the two lines of bearing, so as to form an angle of twelve points, having the chief commander's ship (A, Fig. 4) in the angular point, and the whole fleet steering the same course. Thus, supposing, as in the figure, the wind at north, the starboard division of the fleet will bear W.N.W. of the chief in command, and the larboard E.N.E. This order, in small fleets or squadrons, is superior to either of the former; but when the fleet is numerous, the line will be too much extended.

Fig. 4.



In the fourth order, the fleet is divided into six or more columns, and is thus more concentrated. The commanders, ranged on the two lines of bearing, have their squadrons astern of them, on two lines parallel to the direction of the wind; the first ships of each column being, with respect to the commander of the squadron, the one on his starboard and the other on his larboard quarter. The distance between the columns should be such that the fleet may readily be reduced to the third order of sailing, and from that to the order of battle. This order is adapted for fleets or convoys crossing the ocean, and is represented in Fig. 5: but as it requires much time to reduce a fleet from this order to that of battle, it is defective when in presence of an enemy.

Fig. 5.



In the fifth order, the fleet, close-hauled, is arranged in three columns parallel to each other, the van commonly forming the weather, and the rear the lee column. See Fig. 6. Fig. 7 represents the same order, except that each column is

here subdivided into two, with the ship bearing the commander of each squadron in the centre of each subdivision.

Fig. 6.

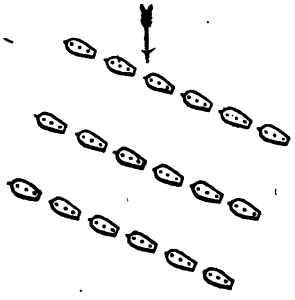
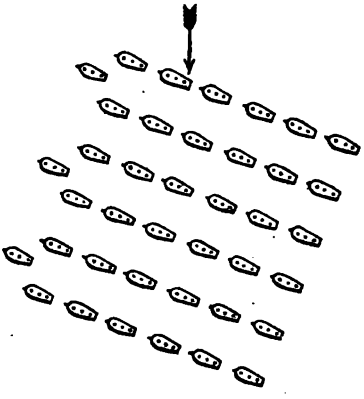


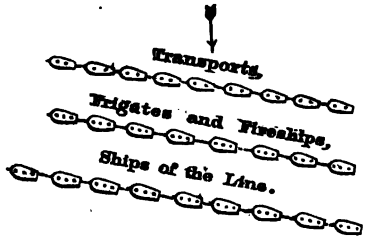
Fig. 7.



Order of Battle.

In forming the order or line of battle, the ships of the fleet are drawn up in a line nearly close-hauled, standing under easy sail, so that each ship may be at a certain distance from the ship immediately ahead, as a cable's length, or half that distance. The fire-ships and frigates ahead and astern, form a line parallel to the former, and to the windward of it if the enemy be to the leeward, but to the leeward if the enemy be to windward. This order is denoted by Fig. 8, where the fleet is sailing on the starboard tack, with the wind at north.

Fig. 8.

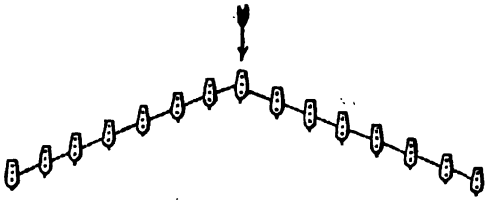


Order of Retreat.

When a fleet is compelled to retreat before a superior force, it is usually arranged in an order the reverse of the third order of sailing; the divisions of the fleet being ranged in the two lines of bearing, so as to form an angle of 135°, or twelve points, the commander's ship lying in the angular point,

and the frigates, transports, &c., included within the wings to leeward. See Fig. 9, where the fleet is sailing right before

Fig. 9.



the wind. Though any other direction may be taken, the two lines still form the same angle.

Order of Convoy.

The order of convoy is that in which the ships are all in each other's wake, steering in the same point of the compass, and forming a right line. If the fleet is numerous, it may be divided into three columns, which are to be ranged parallel to each other, that of the chief commander occupying the centre, and all steering the same course.

Having thus described the ordinary positions of a fleet, we must explain the manœuvres by which they are produced, and we shall begin with the orders of sailing.

Method to form the First Order of Sailing.

To form a fleet in the first order of sailing, supposing the ships to be in no particular order, that ship which is to lead on the proposed line of bearing for the order of sailing, runs to leeward of the greater part of the fleet, and then hauls her wind under an easy sail. Each of the other ships then proceeds to take the proper station, by chasing the ship which is to be ahead of her, and when in the wake of the leading ship, adjusts her quantity of canvas so as to preserve the proper distance. The ships thus arranged astern of each other are in the line of battle; and from this the first order of sailing is formed, by each ship bearing away at the same time, and all steering the proposed course.

Second Order of Sailing.

In forming the second order of sailing, the leading ship runs to leeward of so many of the fleet that each ship may readily fetch her wake, and then steers a course eight points from the wind, under an easy sail. The line is formed by each ship in the same manner as in the first order, except that, before bearing away, the line is perpendicular to the direction of the wind, or each ship has the wind on her beam.

Third Order.

As, in the third order of sailing, the chief commander's ship is in the centre, to produce this position, the fleet being formed in a line on one of the lines of bearing, and the ships steering in each other's wake ten points from the wind, the leading or leewardmost ship first hauls her wind. The second ship does the same as soon as she gets into the wake of the former; and this is done by each ship, till the chief commander's ships haul their wind, when they reach the wake of the leading ship. At the same time that the chief commander's ship hauls her wind, the sternmost half of the fleet does the same. The ships are now in the third order of sailing, from which the fleet can be formed in the line of battle on either tack.

Fourth Order.

To form the fourth order of sailing, the commanding chief officers range themselves on the two lines of bearing, at a proper distance from each other, steering the proposed course; and the ships of the several columns take their respective places, parallel to each other, and forming lines in the direction of the wind.

Fifth Order.

To form the fifth order, the three leading ships of the division take their posts abreast and to leeward of each other, keeping their wind under an easy sail; then the ships of each squadron make sail, and take their respective stations at the proper distance astern of their leaders, while the commanders of each division, and the corresponding ships of each, keep mutually abreast of each other.

To form the Line of Battle.

1. In forming from the first order of sailing, if the ships are running large on the tack that answers to the line of bearing on which they sail, and if the line is to be formed on the same tack, all the ships haul their wind at once, or as quickly as possible after the next to windward; but if they be on the other tack with respect to the line of bearing, they all haul their wind and tack or veer together. If the line of battle is to be formed on the other line of bearing, the ship most to leeward veers or tacks, and hauls her wind, while the rest of the fleet veer or tack at the same time, and steer with the wind four points free, and each ship hauls her wind as soon as she gets within the wake of the leader. See Figs. 10 and 11.

Fig. 10.

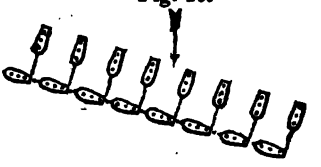
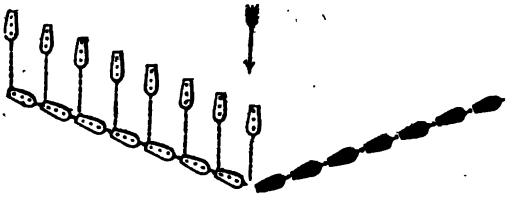
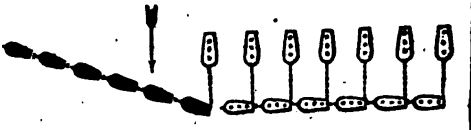


Fig. 11.



Suppose the fleet running before the wind, in the second order of sailing: to form the line from this position, all the ships haul up together on the proper tack, presenting their heads eight points from the wind at the line on which they are arranged; the leading ship then hauls her wind, immediately making sail or shortening sail, so as to close or open the order; and the same is done successively by all the rest. See Fig. 12.

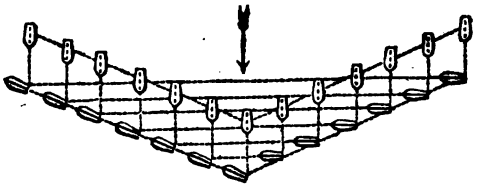
Fig. 12.



In a fleet running large in the third order, the line of battle is formed by the wing which is in the line of bearing corresponding to the tack on which the line is to be formed, and

the ship at the angle, hauling their wind together, while the ships of the other wing haul up together eight points from the

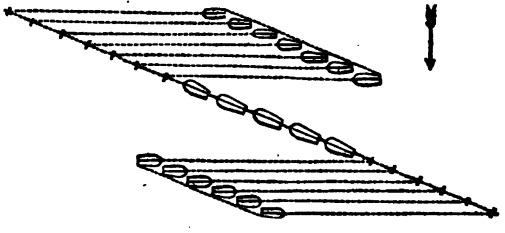
Fig. 13.



wind; each ship moving in this direction till she reach the wake of the other wing, when she hauls close up. See Fig. 13.

In forming the line of battle on the same tack from the fifth order of sailing (as the fourth is not calculated for forming a line of battle), the centre brings to so as only to keep steerage way; the weather column bears away two points, and when it gets ahead of the centre, hauls its wind, while the ships of the lee column tack together, and crowd sail to gain the wake of the centre, when they re-tack together, and complete the line (see Fig. 14); or the weather column brings to, while the centre and lee tack together, and bear away

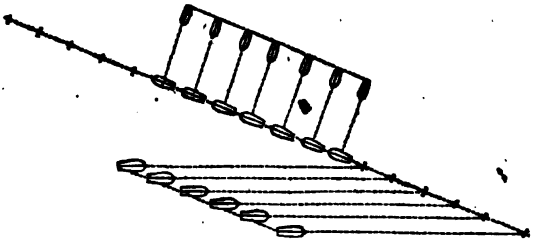
Fig. 14.



two points free.. When the ships of the centre column have gained the wake of the van, they re-tack together, and bring to; and when those of the lee have gained the rear line, they re-tack together, and all stand on; or, lastly, the lee column brings to, the centre runs under easy sail two points free, to get ahead of the rear squadron, while the rear bears away under the press of sail two points free, to get ahead of the centre division.

2. Suppose the weather and centre columns to interchange. To form the lee under these circumstances, the centre stands on, while the weather column bears away eight points, and having reached the wake of the centre, which now forms the van, hauls up; the ships of the lee column tack together and run under a press of sail, within two points free, so as just to gain the rear of the line when they re-tack together (see Fig. 15); or the lee column brings to, while the centre squad-

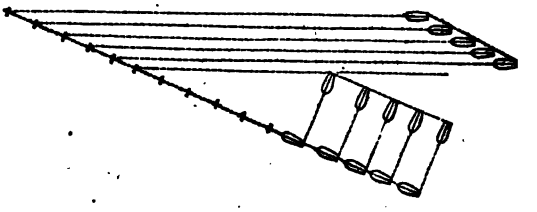
Fig. 15.



ron bears away three points under easy sail, and, having reached the wake of the van, hauls up to form the centre division.

3. Suppose the centre and lee columns to interchange. The lee column stands on close-hauled, under an easy sail; the weather column bears away two points, under a press of sail, till it reaches the head of the line, when it hauls up; and the centre bears away eight points, and, when in the wake of the lee, now the centre, hauls its wind. See Fig. 16.

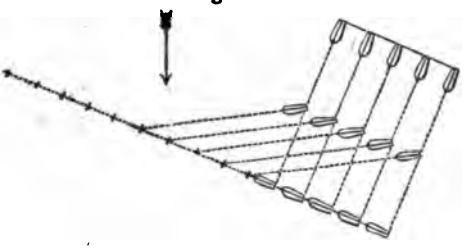
Fig. 16.



4. If the weather and lee columns interchange, the lee column stands on under a press of sail close-hauled, while the centre, under easy sail, bears away two points, and when it reaches the wake of the now van squadron, hauls its wind;

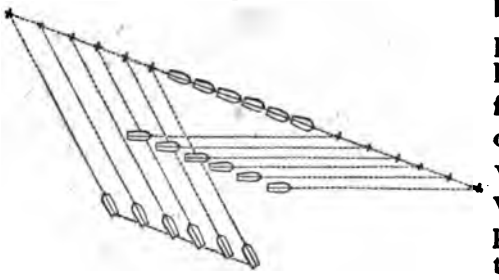
and the weather column bears away eight points, hauling up when in the wake of the centre. See Fig. 17.

Fig. 17.



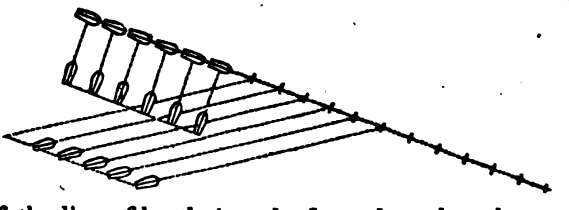
5. Suppose the centre column to form the van, and the weather the rear division. Here the lee column brings to, while the centre bears away two points, forming the line ahead of the former, now the centre; and the weather column veers away seven points on the other tack, forming the rear squadron. See Fig. 18.

Fig. 18.



6. To form the line so that the lee column may form the van, and the centre the rear, the lee column is to stand on under a press of sail, while the weather bears away three points under easy sail, and the centre bears away eight points, the ships of each column hauling their wind when in the wake of the now van division. See Fig. 19.

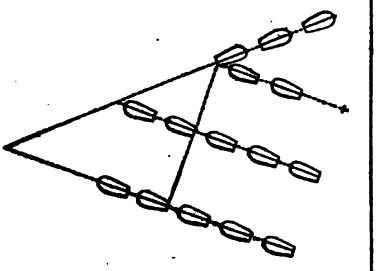
Fig. 19.



7. If the line of battle is to be formed on the other tack, so

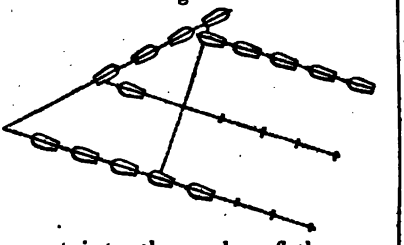
that the weather shall form the van division, as in the first case, the ships of the weather column first tack successively, while those of the centre and lee stand on, the former under easy sail, and the latter shortening sail, the leading ships tacking when in the wake of the now van, taking great care that the ships of the centre and lee draw not too near to the sternmost ships of the van, or to each other. See Fig. 20.

Fig. 20.



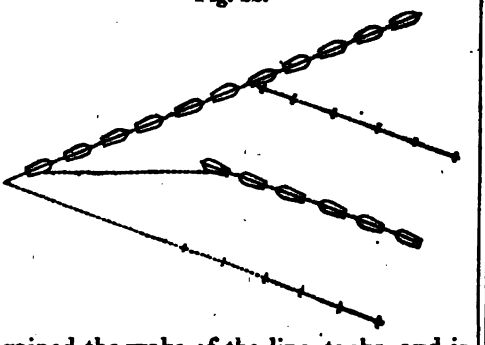
8. To form the line on the other tack, when the centre and weather columns interchange, the weather column brings to, while the centre column stands on till the leading ship be fully able to clear the weather column, when the ships of the centre tack successively, as they reach the wake of the van: the lee column stands on, tacking successively as the ships get into the wake of the van, under moderate sail. See Fig. 21.

Fig. 21.



9. In forming the line on the other tack, when the centre and lee interchange, the centre brings to, while the ships of the weather tack, under shortened sail, and the lee under a press of sail, stand on; the leading ship having gained the wake of the line, tacks, and is followed in succession by her division. The centre column

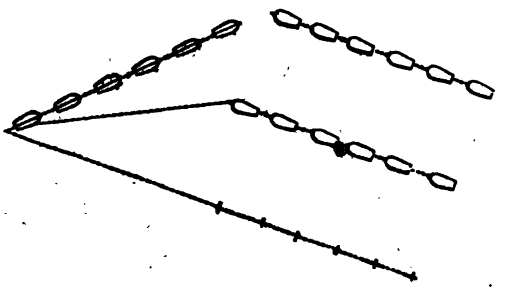
Fig. 22.



fills and stands on, when the first ship of that column and the last of the lee bear from each other in a direction perpendicular to that of the wind. See Fig. 22.

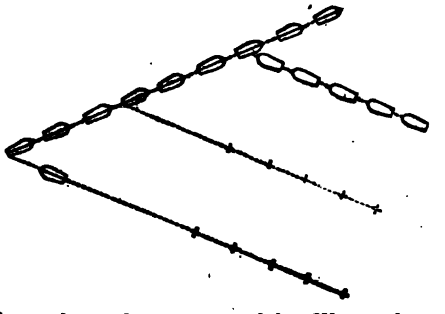
10. To form on this same tack, so that the weather and lee may interchange, the weather and centre bring to, while the lee crowds sail till it can pass ahead of the weather column, when the ships tack in succession. As soon as the leading ship of the centre, and the last of the lee, bear from each other in a line perpendicular to the wind, the centre fills and tacks in succession when in the wake of the now van; and the ships of the weather column do the same when their leading ship and the last of the centre are under similar circumstances. See Fig. 23.

Fig. 23.



11. Suppose the centre is to form the van, and the weather the rear, in forming the line on the other tack. The weather brings to, while the other columns make sail till they can pass ahead of the former on the other tack, when they tack successively. The weather column, when the others have passed it, fills and tacks, to form the rear. See Fig. 24.

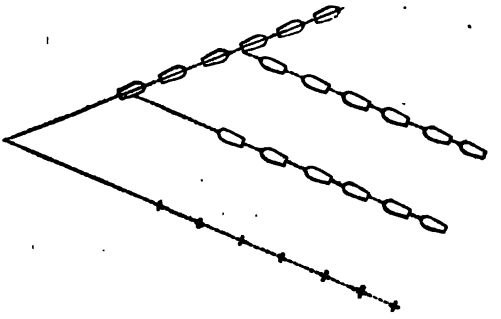
Fig. 24.



12. Suppose now the lee column is to form the van. The weather and centre bring to, while the lee crowds sail, and tacks when it can pass ahead of the weather column. When the last ship of the now van has passed to windward of the

former weather column, the van shortens sail, to give time for the other columns to form; and the weather and centre

Fig. 25.



fill at the same time, to gain the wake of the van, when they tack in succession. See Fig. 25.

To form the Orders of Sailing from the Line of Battle.

We must now show how a fleet may be disposed in the principal orders of sailing from the line of battle; and here, as before, we have several varieties.

1. To form the first order of sailing from the line of battle on the same tack, all the ships are to bear away together as many points as the chief commander may direct, keeping in the line of bearing for the proper tack. The sternmost first bears away, and the others follow in quick succession, to avoid running foul of each other.

2. If they are to form on the other tack, the leading ship bears away four points to leeward, and the rest follow in succession. The sternmost ship having bore away, the whole haul up, and will be in bearing for the line on the other tack. See Fig. 26.

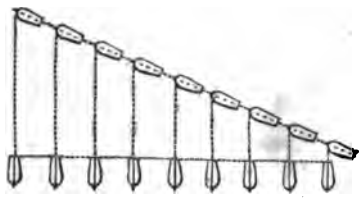
Fig. 26.



3. To form the second order of sailing from the line of battle, the whole fleet is to bear away together ten points, so

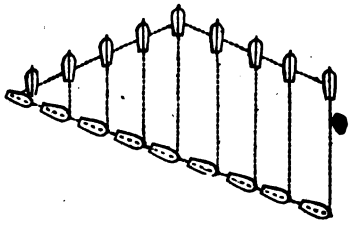
that when the headmost ship, which first presses sail, shall come abreast of the second ship, the second ship must adapt her sail to keep in this bearing, and so in succession, each taking care to keep the preceding ship in a line with herself, perpendicular to the direction of the wind. The whole fleet will now be before the wind. See Fig. 27.

Fig. 27.



4. To form the third order, the whole fleet is to bear away together ten points, the headmost half, including the centre ship, carrying a degree of sail to preserve their line of bearing, while each of the remaining ships is successively to shorten sail, so as to form the other line of bearing with respect to that on which they were before arranged. See Fig. 28.

Fig. 28.



5. To change from the line of battle to the fifth order on the same tack. Of this evolution there are several varieties, but we shall mention only two; first, when the van is to form the weather, and the rear the lee column, and the fleet to keep as much as possible to windward. In this case, the van and centre tack together, and run close-hauled in bow and quarter line, while the rear proceeds in its former course under easy sail. When each ship of the centre is abreast of the corresponding ship of the rear, the centre re-tacks, while the van stands on till the centre and rear come up, when it also re-tacks, and all the columns regulate their distances. Secondly, when the van is to form the lee, and the rear the weather column, the van bears away under easy sail, and goes at right-angles with the line head, while the centre runs two points free, each ship steering for that ship of the van which is to be abreast of her when in column. The distance must be determined by the leader of the van, who is not to

haul up with her division till she and the sternmost ship of the centre column are in a line at right-angles with the wind, when both stand on under easy sail, while the rear crowds sail to pass to windward of both.

6. To form the fifth order of sailing from the line of battle on the other tack. Of this there are also several varieties, but we shall confine ourselves to two. First, when the van is to form the weather, and the rear the lee column, the van tacks in succession, while the leading ship of the centre is to tack, when the leader of the van passes him exactly to windward, in which she is followed by her division; and the rear manœuvres in the same manner with respect to the centre. Secondly, when the rear is to form the weather, and the van the lee column, the van tacks in succession, and, when about, either shortens sail or brings to, to allow the other columns time to form. The centre and rear then crowd sail and tack in succession; the former tacking when its leader has the centre of the lee column in a line at right-angles with the wind, or when its centre passes astern of the lee column. When the centre has tacked, it regulates its rate of sailing by the lee, and both wait for the rear to pass to windward. The rear tacks when the leader has the first ship of the lee in a line at right-angles with the wind, or when its centre ship passes astern of the centre column.

To Manœuvre in Line of Battle.

There are various evolutions or manœuvres performed by a fleet when in line of battle, some of which we must here describe.

Sometimes the fleet has to form the line on the other tack, by tacking in succession. To do this, the leading ship of the fleet tacks first, after making more sail, or after the second has shortened sail, to increase the interval between them. When the first ship is about, either the second makes more sail, or the third shortens sail, and, as soon as the second gets into the wake of the leader, she tacks, putting down the helm just as she opens the weather-quarter of the first ship, already on the other tack. In the same manner, each of the

other ships tacks when in the wake of the leader; and the ships already about must preserve their proper distances by shortening sail, if necessary, till the whole fleet be on the other tack. If a ship should miss stays, she must immediately fill again on the same tack, and make sail with all possible expedition, taking care not to fall to leeward; thus she will get ahead and to windward of the following ships, which will successively perform their evolutions in the wake of the ships that are already on the other tack, standing on rather farther than if the ship ahead had not missed stays.

But suppose the ships are not to tack in succession. To form the line on the other tack, the whole fleet veers together; the rear ship hauls her wind on the other tack, and stands on, while the rest go two points free on the other tack, and haul up as they successively gain the wake of the leading ship.

If the line is to veer in succession, the van ship veers and stands four points free on the other tack, hauling her wind when clear of the sternmost ship, and the rest follow and haul up in succession.

Sometimes the fleet has to turn to windward while in line of battle. The best way to do this, when there is good sea-room, is for all the ships to tack together, when the fleet will be in a line of battle on the one board, and in bow and quarter line on the other. If, however, the fleet be turning to windward in a narrow channel, it is best for the ships to tack in succession, as, were they all to tack together, the van would be soon in with the land on one side, while the stern ship, soon after the fleet has re-tacked, would be too near the land on the other side.

If the van and centre are to interchange, the van is to bear away a little and then bring to, while the centre passes on to windward, edging a little to get ahead of the former van on the same line; the rear, coming on under an easy sail, edges away likewise, to gain the wake of the now centre squadron.

If the van and rear are to interchange, the van and centre are to bear away a little and then bring to, so that the van may bear away a little more to the leeward than the centre. The rear stands on to gain the head of the line; and, when

abreast of the former van, the centre fills, and both standing on, form ahead of the now rear, by edging down till they are in a line with it.

If the centre and rear are to interchange, the van stands on under an easy sail, while the centre bears away a little and brings to, and the rear at the same time carries a press of sail to pass the centre to windward and get into the wake of the van. The van and centre then edge away to gain the line with the now rear squadron, which then fills.

To Manœuvre in the Fifth Order of Sailing.

Several evolutions are required while a fleet is in the fifth order of sailing, and of these we shall notice some of the more important.

When the columns are to tack in succession, the ships of the lee must tack first, as they have the greatest distance to run; and when the leader of the centre comes abreast of the leader to leeward, or at right-angles with the close-hauled line on the other tack on which the leader of the lee is now moving, she tacks, and is followed successively by the ships of her division. The weather column manœuvres in the same manner, paying the same regard to the centre. Here the weather column is still to windward, and should the columns have closed too much or be too far asunder, the order may be observed, either by the lee or windward column bearing away, so as to make an angle equal to that proposed between any column and a line joining a leader of that column and the sternmost ship of the next.

When all the columns are to tack together, the sternmost ships put in stays together; and when in stays their seconds ahead put down their helms, and so on through the whole fleet. Each column will then be in bow and quarter line.

When the columns are to veer in succession, the leader of the lee column must steer four points free on the other tack, followed by the ships of that division; and when she is clear of the sternmost ships of that division, she hauls up. The same evolution is performed by the centre and weather ships successively, standing on till they bring the point at which

the lee column began to veer, to bear in a right line to leeward of them. They likewise successively spring their luffs when the point at which the lee column hauled its wind bears right to leeward.

Suppose the fleet, when in the fifth order of sailing, is to turn to windward. Let the ships be so arranged that the leaders and corresponding ships may be in the direction of the wind. The van ships must tack together, and must be followed in succession, each by the remaining ships of the division, when they reach the wake of their leaders, or the same point where they tacked; so that there will always be three ships in stays at once, till the whole fleet is on the other tack. The fleet then stands on to any proposed distance and re-tacks as before.

When the weather and centre columns interchange, the weather and lee lie to, or only keep steerage way: the centre column tacks together, and, forming a bow and quarter line, goes close-hauled to gain the wake of the weather column; it then tacks together and stands on, while the weather column bears away to its new station in the centre, and the lee column fills.

When the weather and lee columns are to interchange, the centre column must bring to, while the lee stands on under a press of sail; and when its sternmost ship can pass to windward of the van of the centre column, that is, when the centre ship of the lee is in a perpendicular line to the direction of the wind with the van of the centre column, the lee column then tacks together, and stands on close-hauled till it comes in a line with the centre column, when it goes large two points to get into the situation which the weather column left, and then veers together, hauling the wind for the other tack. At the beginning of the evolution the weather column bears away together under little sail, and goes large six points on the other tack, to get into the wake of the centre column; it then hauls to the former tack, going two points large, till it comes abreast of the centre column, when it brings to and waits for the now weather column.

Suppose the weather column is to pass to leeward. The

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weather column is to stand on under easy sail, while the centre and lee tack together, carrying a press of sail till they reach the wake of the weather column, when they re-tack, and crowd sail till they come up with it. The weather column, when the others have gained its wake, bears away two points, to gain its station to leeward, when it brings to till the other columns, now the weather and centre, come up.

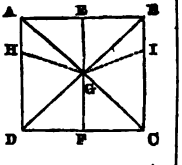
Suppose the lee column is to pass to windward. The weather and centre columns bring to, while the lee column carries sail and tacks in succession as soon as the leading ship can weather the headmost ship of the weather column; and when arrived on the line on which the weather column is formed, it re-tacks in succession, forms on the same line, and either brings to or stands on under easy sail. If it brings to, the other two columns bear away together two points, to put themselves abreast of the column now to windward; but if the now weather column stood on under an easy sail, they may bear away only one point to gain their proper stations.

It is of the greatest importance that each ship of a fleet or squadron preserve her proper station and distance with respect to the rest: these may be regulated in two ways, either by observation with the quadrant, or by what is called the *naval square*. This square is usually constructed in the following manner.

Construction and Use of the Naval Square.

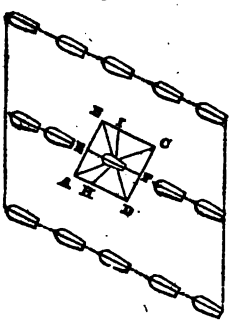
On some convenient place in the middle of the quarter-deck is described the square A B C D, Fig. 29, having the sides A D and B C parallel to the keel of the ship. Through the centre, G, the line E F is drawn parallel to A D or B C, and the diagonals A C and B D are drawn. The angles E G D, E G C are bisected by the straight lines G H, G I, and thus the naval square is completed. Now the angles F G D, F G C are = four points each, being each half a right-angle, therefore the angles E G D, E G C, the complements of these angles, are each = twelve points, and consequently the angles E G H, E G I are each = six points, being each half of the last angles.

Fig. 29.



Now, if a ship be running close-hauled on the starboard tack, in the direction F E, the direction of the wind will be I G, and her close-hauled course on the other tack will be G C; but if she be running close-hauled on the larboard tack in the same direction, her direction when close-hauled on the starboard tack will be G D. Now, to apply the naval square to the keeping of ships in their respective stations, suppose the fleet formed on the fifth order of sailing, close-hauled, the corresponding ships of the columns coinciding with the direction of the wind, in order to run to windward with greater facility. The corresponding ships in the column must be kept in the direction of G H or G I, according to the direction of the wind and the tack they are on, while all the ships of the same column must be in the direction of E F. See Fig. 30.

Fig. 30.



Again, suppose the ships arranged in three columns on one of the lines of bearing, and close-hauled on the other tack. The ships of each column will be in the direction of one of the diagonals, while the corresponding ships of the other columns will be in the direction of the other diagonal.

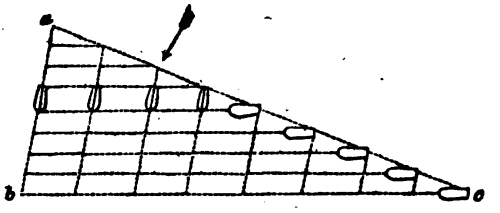
To restore the Order of Battle on Shifts of the Wind.

Sometimes the line of battle is disordered on the wind's shifting, and requires to be restored. Of this there are several cases, a few of which we shall notice.

1. When the wind comes forward less than six points. In this case the whole fleet, except the leader, brings to. The leading ship, that the same distances between the ships may be preserved on restoring the line, steers a course, as *a b*, Fig. 31, so as to be at right-angles with the middle point between the former and present direction of the wind. This required course may be known by adding half the number of points the wind has shifted to eight points, and applying this sum to the former close-hauled course. When the leader has arrived at the new close-hauled line with respect to the second

ship ahead, this ship immediately fills and bears away as many points as the leader; and when both these have reached the close-hauled line with respect to the third ship, she also

Fig. 31.



fills and bears away; and thus with the rest in succession; and when they have got into the close-hauled line, *b c*, with the sternmost ship, they all haul their wind together, and the sternmost ship fills and stands on close-hauled.

This may be expeditiously performed if the whole fleet fall off as soon as the wind shifts the same number of points, and the leader bears away eight points from the middle between the former and present directions of the wind; or when the wind shifts nearly six points, if the leader bears away eight points from the present direction of the wind, and hauls her wind as soon as the sternmost ship bears from her in the close-hauled line, while the second ship bears away when she reaches the wake of the leader, and hauls her wind when she has again gained his wake. The third, fourth, &c., ships bear away, and also haul their wind in succession, till the sternmost and the whole line be formed again.

2. Suppose the wind comes forward less than six points, and the order of battle is to be re-formed on the other tack. In this case all the ships are to veer round till their heads come to the requisite point with respect to their former course, when the rear ship, now become the van, hauls close by the wind, followed successively by the other ships. Should the wind come ahead more than six points, but less than twelve, the fleet is to manœuvre as before; but if it shift exactly twelve points ahead, the tack must be changed.

3. Lastly, suppose the wind to shift aft; if less than two points, the leader hauls her wind, while the fleet stands on as

before, each successively hauling her wind as she gains the wake of her leader. If the tack is to be changed, the whole fleet tack together, and the sternmost ship, now the leader, hauls up, while the rest bear down and haul up in succession.

Should the wind change sixteen points, all the ships immediately brace about for the other tack, by which means the fleet will be going four points large; then the ships instantly tacking or veering together, the order of the battle will be restored or formed again on the same tack as before the wind changed.

Having described and illustrated the principal evolutions which are performed by fleets or squadrons under ordinary circumstances, we are prepared to consider the nature and consequences of a *naval engagement.*

Circumstances to be considered in forming a Fleet for Action.

In forming a fleet for battle, it is proper to consider the size and number of the ships of which it is to consist, and the distance at which they are to be placed with respect to each other. In the present system of naval warfare, it is generally deemed of advantage to have the ships that are to form the principal line as large as possible; for, though large ships are not so easily and expeditiously worked as those of a smaller size, they are most serviceable during the action, both as carrying a greater weight of metal, and as being less exposed to material injury, either from the enemy's shot or from the weather. In boarding, too, a large ship must have greatly the superiority over a smaller, both from her greater height, and from the number of hands which she contains. With respect to the number of ships, it is of advantage that they be not too numerous, as, if the line be too extensive, the signals from the centre are with difficulty observed.

In arranging a fleet in line of battle, it is proper to regulate the distance so that the ships shall be sufficiently near to support each other, but not so close that a disabled ship may not readily be got out of the line without disturbing the rest of the fleet.

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Weather-Gage.

It has long been deemed a point of great consequence with the commander of a fleet to gain the weather-gage, or to get to windward of the enemy, before coming to action. In deciding on the propriety of this, much will depend on the relative strength of each fleet, and on the state of the weather at the time. We shall state the advantages and disadvantages of the weather-gage, as they are commonly laid down by writers on naval tactics, though we may observe, by the way, that if a fleet be much superior to its opponent, it is seldom of consequence whether it engages to windward or to leeward.

A fleet to windward of the enemy is thought to possess the following advantages. It may approach the leeward fleet at pleasure, and can, of course, accelerate or delay the beginning of the engagement. If more numerous, it may send down a detachment on the rear of the enemy, and thus throw him into confusion. It may also readily send down fire-ships on the enemy's fleet, when thrown into confusion or disabled. It may board at any time, and is scarcely incommoded by the smoke of the enemy. The reverse of these circumstances, of course, acts against a leeward fleet.

The disadvantages of being to windward of the enemy respect chiefly the circumstances attending a retreat, should this be necessary. The windward fleet can seldom retire without passing through the enemy's line; and if, in attempting a retreat, the windward ships tack together, those of the leeward fleet may do the same, rake the weather ships in stays, and follow them on the other tack, having now the advantage of the wind. In stormy weather, the windward ships can seldom open their lower deck ports, and the lee guns are not easily managed after firing. Again, any disabled ships cannot easily quit the line without disordering the rest of the fleet, and exposing either that or themselves to be raked by the enemy to leeward. A leeward fleet has the advantage of serving their lower-deck guns in all weathers; of being able to retreat at pleasure; of drawing off, without difficulty, their disabled ships; of forming with more readiness the order of retreat, or of continuing the action as long

as convenient; of having it in their power, when superior in number, to double the enemy; and of cannonading with great effect the windward ships as they bear down for the attack.

Description of an Engagement between two Ships.

As an engagement between two adverse ships is, in some measure, an epitome of an engagement between two fleets; we shall first briefly describe the former, as it takes place under ordinary circumstances, and shall then notice the usual manner of conducting a general engagement.

A naval engagement may be divided into three stages, the *preparation*, the *action*, and the *repair*.

Preparation.

When an enemy's ship heaves in sight, and it is thought advisable to bring her to an engagement, orders are first given to clear for action, which is begun by the boatswain and his mates piping up the hammocks, in order to clear the space between decks, for the more easy management of the guns, as well as to afford the men on the quarter-deck, &c., a better protection against the enemy's shot, the hammocks being stowed in the nettings above the gunwale and bulwarks. After this the boatswain's mates go to work to secure the yards, which is done by fastening them with strong chains or ropes, in addition to those by which they are suspended. They likewise get ready such materials as may be necessary for repairing the rigging, if it should be cut away, or otherwise damaged, by the enemy's shot. In the meantime the carpenter and his mates prepare shot-plugs and mauls, to stop any dangerous shot-holes that may be made in the hull near the surface of the water, and provide the necessary iron-work for refitting the chain-pumps, if their machinery should be injured during the engagement; while the gunner and his mates, and the quarter-gunners, examine the guns to see that their charges are dry, and provide everything that may be required for supplying the great guns and small arms with ammunition. The master and master's mates see that the sails are properly trimmed, according to the situation of

the ship, and increase or reduce them as may be found necessary; and the lieutenants visit the different decks to see that all is clear, and to take care that the inferior officers do their duty.

When the hostile ships have approached within a proper distance of each other, the drums beat to arms; the boatswain and his mates pipe *all hands to quarters*. All the men who are to manage the great guns repair immediately to their respective stations. The crows, handspikes, rammers, sponges, powder-horns, matches, and train-tackles, are placed in order by the side of the guns; the hatches are immediately closed, to prevent skulkers from getting below; the marines are drawn up on the quarter-deck, &c., the lashings of the guns are cast loose, and the tompions withdrawn. The whole artillery, above and below, is run out at the ports, and levelled to the point-blank range, ready for firing.

The Action.

When these necessary preparations are completed, and the officers and crew ready at their respective stations, and when the two ships are sufficiently near each other, in a proper relative situation for the shot to take full effect, the action commences with a vigorous cannonade from the great guns, accompanied by the whole efforts of the swivels and small-arms. The firing is seldom performed in volleys, as that would shake the ship too much; but the guns are loaded and fired one after another, with as much despatch and as little confusion as possible, care being taken to fire only when each gun is properly directed to its object. During the firing, the lieutenants traverse the decks, to see that the battle is prosecuted with vivacity, and that the men do their duty; while the midshipmen second their injunctions, and give the necessary assistance where required, at the guns committed to their charge. The youngest of these inferior officers are generally employed to carry orders from the captain. The gunners are all this time employed in the magazines, filling cartridges, which are carried along the decks in boxes, by the boys of the ship. When the action has continued so

long, or has produced such an effect, that one of the ships must yield or retreat, if the vanquished ship cannot get off, she acknowledges her inferiority by striking or hauling down her colours, when she is, as soon as possible, taken possession of by the victor, the commander of which sends a part of his own crew into the captured ship, and brings away most of her officers and men on board his own ship, as prisoners of war.

Repair.

The engagement being concluded, they begin to repair. The guns are secured by their breeches and tackles with all convenient expedition. Whatever sails have been rendered unserviceable, are unbent, and the wounded masts and yards struck upon deck, to be fished or replaced by others. The standing rigging is knotted, and the running rigging spliced where necessary. Proper sails are bent in the room of those which have been displaced as useless. The carpenter and his mates are employed in repairing the breaches made in the ship's hull, by shot-plugs, pieces of plank, and sheet-lead. The gunner and his assistants are busied in replenishing the allotted number of charged cartridges, to supply the place of those which have been expended, and in refitting whatever furniture of the guns may have been damaged by the action.

Engagement between two Fleets.

A general engagement between two adverse fleets obviously involves a greater variety of circumstances, and requires greater judgment and more comprehensive skill in the commanding officer.

When the commander of a fleet has discovered an enemy's fleet, his principal object, if he be sufficiently strong, is to bring it to action as soon as possible. Every inferior consideration gives way to this important object, and all necessary preparations are immediately made to prepare for such an event. The state of the wind and situation of the enemy will, in general, regulate his conduct with regard to the disposition of his ships on that occasion. To facilitate the execution of the commander's orders, the whole fleet is disposed

in three squadrons, and each of these classed into three divisions, under the command of the different officers. Before the action begins, the adverse fleets are drawn up in two lines, as formerly described. As soon as the chief commander displays the signal for the line of battle, the several divisions separate from the columns in which they were disposed in the usual order in sailing, and every ship crowds sail to get into its station in the wake of the next ahead; and a proper distance from each other is regularly observed from the van to the rear. The chief commander, however, occasionally contracts or extends his line, so as to regulate the length of his line by that of his adversary. This is more particularly necessary to prevent his being doubled, by which his van and rear would be thrown into disorder. When the hostile fleets approach each other, the courses are commonly hauled upon the brails, and the top-gallant sails and stay-sails furled. The movement of each ship is regulated chiefly by the main and fore-top sails and the jib; the mizen-top sail being reserved to hasten or retard the course of the ship, and, by filling or backing, hoisting or lowering it, to determine her velocity. The signal for a general engagement is usually displayed when the fleets are sufficiently near each other to be within the range of point-blank shot, so that the guns may be levelled with some certainty of execution. After the battle has commenced, it is carried on much in the same manner as between two ships, except that each vessel of the fleet, besides attending to her own movements, has to observe the signals made by the commanding officer, and repeated by the frigates on the van and rear. The main object of the chief commander is to keep his line as complete as possible, by ordering ships from those in reserve to supply the place of such as may have been disabled, and to annoy the enemy as much as possible, both by strengthening the feeble parts of his own line, and, if circumstances admit of it, by sending down fire-ships upon that of the enemy. When the engagement draws near a close, either by the defeat of the enemy, or by the disabled state of either fleet, signals are made from the chief commander

to take possession of such of the enemy's ships as have struck, to tow his own disabled ships into a place of security, and either to chase the remainder of the enemy's squadron, or, if that be impracticable, to draw off his own ships to be refitted.

Such are the general incidents attending an engagement at sea, modified, of course, by numerous circumstances, of which a general description can convey no idea. There are, however, various movements and evolutions connected with a naval engagement, which it will be necessary for us to notice.

To dispute the Weather-Gage with an Enemy.

Where the weather-gage is deemed of sufficient importance, it is often an object with two fleets to dispute it with each other. When the enemy is to windward, and it is wished to gain the weather-gage of him, the fleet to leeward should avoid extending itself the length of the enemy's line, in order to oblige them to edge down upon theirs, if they intend to attack them; which will be the means, if they still persist in doing so, of losing the advantage of the wind. It is impossible for a fleet to leeward to gain to windward, so long as the enemy keep the wind, unless a change happens in their favour; and, therefore, all that a fleet to leeward can do must be to wait with patience for such a change, of which they will undoubtedly avail themselves, as well as of any inadvertency the enemy may commit in the meantime. And, as long as the fleet to leeward does not extend its line the length of the enemy's, it will be impossible for the latter to bring them to action without running the hazard, by bearing down, of losing the advantage of the wind, which both fleets will be so desirous of preserving. That a commander may take advantage of such shifts of the wind as occasionally happen, he must endeavour to get his ships into situations where these shifts most frequently take place. It is well known to experienced naval officers, that particular winds reign most on certain coasts, or off certain headlands. Here, therefore, the commander should await the approach of the enemy; and though by this plan he may sometimes be unsuccessful, he will more frequently gain a material advantage.

The disposition of projecting headlands, and the setting of tides and currents, often contribute materially towards gaining the wind of the enemy. The fleet to windward should keep that to leeward as much as possible abreast of it; and thus, unless the wind changes considerably, they will preserve the advantage which they have gained. They should also force them to keep their wind, unless they think it prudent not to engage, in which case it would be better to keep altogether out of sight.

To force the Enemy to Action.

When the enemy appears desirous of avoiding an action, there are various methods of attempting to force him to engage; as, first, when he has the weather-gage. In this case the lee fleet, which is desirous of bringing on an engagement, must keep always on the same tack with the enemy to windward, taking care to keep their own ships so exactly abreast of the enemy as to prevent losing sight of them; and hence be ready to take advantage of the first favourable shift of wind to make the attack. An alteration of the course may be best attempted in the night. The lee fleet must have frigates on the look-out, and these must continually give notice by signal of the manœuvres and course of the retreating fleet to windward. Thus the weather fleet is always exposed to pursuit, without being able to escape unseen; and hence must sooner or later be compelled to engage, unless they can get into some friendly port, or should be favoured by a gale of wind sufficient to disperse both fleets, and thus prevent the possibility of a general engagement.

Secondly, when the enemy is to leeward. If the lee fleet keep close to the wind in the order of battle, the fleet to windward is to stand on in the same manner till it be abreast of the enemy, ship to ship, and at the same time to bear away, and steer so as to bring their respective opponents on the same point of the compass with themselves. Thus the adverse fleets will be sufficiently near each other to begin the action, by each ship's presenting her bow to the ship abreast of her in the order of sailing, which may be easily changed

for the order of battle, by all the ships hauling together close to the wind in the moment which precedes the action. If the fleet appear inclined to engage, it may bring to, to prevent losing time, and after this they will fill as soon as the action commences, because it is of advantage to a lee line to be advancing ahead. As the lee fleet fills and stands in close by the wind, the weather line should keep abreast before it bears away, to come within the requisite distance, that the van ship of the weather fleet may always keep to windward of the leading ship of the lee line, and be guarded against any shift of wind ahead. If the lee fleet bear away four points to move their order of battle on the other tack, and avoid the action, filing off in succession in the wake of the van ship, the weather line, by bearing away all together eight points, cannot fail, as both fleets are supposed to sail equally, to pass through the middle of their line, and force them to fight with disadvantage, if their extent be double the distance between the two fleets. If the extent of the fleet be less than the above limitation, then the weather fleet will divide the lee fleet more unequally; and if the distance between the fleets be considerable, the weather fleet will be able to break through the line. If the lee fleet bear away four points all together, being of equal extent with the fleet to windward, and their distance from each other equal to that of the length of one of the lines, should the weather fleet bear away at the same time eight points, they will approach very near the sternmost of the retreating fleet, but they will not have it in their power to cut off any part of that fleet, even with an equality of sailing; so that the only advantage gained by this manœuvre will be an ability of attacking the rear and bringing it to action. If the van ship and the rest of the weather fleet had a sufficient velocity to keep the centre ship of the lee line on the same point of bearing, in that case the leading ship may break through the enemy's line about the middle ship of the centre division; for, supposing the fleets in the order of battle, on the starboard tack, steering east, with the wind at south-south-east, being at two leagues distance from each other, both the lines being four leagues in extent, then

the lee line bearing away all together four points, will run northeast, while the fleet to windward, bearing away all together eight points, will steer north, the van ship of which will keep the centre division of the lee line in the point of bearing north-west. As she is supposed to be able to continue in this position, it follows that the van of the weather line must close the centre of the flying line to leeward after having run four leagues. The time and distance necessary to cut off a retreating fleet may always be known according to the last supposition. If the lee fleet should get on the other tack, and run large, still in the order of battle, they will be sooner forced to action by the weather fleet, who have only to bear away eight or nine points on the same tack, or run right before the wind.

To avoid coming to Action.

As, in forcing a fleet to action, there are two principal cases in which a fleet may avoid an action, where circumstances are not sufficiently favourable; first, when the enemy is to windward; and, secondly, when he is to leeward. In the former case, the lee fleet should form the order of retreat, if the enemy are in view, and run on the same tack as their leading ship; but if he is still out of sight, and they have received intelligence of his approach by their frigates on the look-out, they may bear away large, without confining themselves to keep the wind directly off, unless when in the order of retreat. In the second case, it seldom happens that the weather fleet can be forced to an engagement, because it can always stand on that tack which increases its distance from the enemy; that is, by standing on one tack while the enemy is on the other. The windward fleet must not keep too near the enemy, and must take all possible means to avoid being abreast of him.

To Double an Enemy.

It is often of advantage to double the enemy; that is, to bring a part of the fleet round upon his van or rear, so as to place him between two fires. This manœuvre also resolves itself into two principal cases; first, when the enemy is to

windward; secondly, when he is to leeward. In the first case, the lee fleet that attempts to double the enemy should extend itself abreast of him, so that its van or rear may extend beyond his line, in order to overreach him, by tacking in succession, so that the extended part of the line may get up to windward. If this manœuvre be properly executed, it will be impossible for the ships of the weather line long to maintain their stations, for no vessel closely attacked by two others of equal force can long resist. It is of some consequence to determine whether the attempt to double should be made on the van or the rear of the enemy, as on the propriety of adopting the one or the other of these measures may in a great measure depend the issue of the battle. In the present case, it is most easy to double the van of the enemy, because, if they are engaged by the ships abreast of them, those which are advanced ahead will be able, by making all sail, to get in the perpendicular to the direction of the wind with the van of the enemy, and to tack in succession to gain the wind of them on the other board, thus keeping them to leeward; and when they are come sufficiently to windward, they are again to go about, in order to keep the two headmost ships of the enemy's line continually under their fire. If there be two or three ships to tack in succession and gain the wind of the enemy, they may edge down on the van of the weather line at pleasure, keeping themselves a little to the windward of it; and as that van is already engaged by the other ships abreast on the other side, she must necessarily soon be disabled. If they bear away they must drop upon the line with which they are engaged to leeward, while the ships to windward still continue to cannonade them. If they attempt going about, in order to attack more closely the ships to windward, they will be raked, while in stays, by their opponents to leeward and to windward, who, enfilading them with whole broadsides, which they cannot return, must complete their disorder. If they make sail, in order to frustrate the design of the ships inclined to double, those with which they are engaged abreast to leeward have only to perform the same manœuvre, and

keep them under their fire; while the others, after having harassed them as much as possible, will do their best to perform the same manœuvre on the succeeding ships.

If any of the ships in the van of the weather line are disabled in the masts or yards, they will drop astern, and run foul of the next succeeding ship, and these again on the next astern. Thus the enemy's order of battle will be broken, while, on the other hand, the lee line is preserved; and those ships which have gained the wind of the enemy will, without engaging more ships than they can manage, contribute to increase the confusion.

When the enemy is to leeward, and the weather fleet attempts to double, the ships of the weather line must extend their van beyond that of the enemy, and then veer in order to bring the headmost ships of the lee line between two fires. It must not, however, be concealed that it is much more dangerous to the ship engaged in this service to attempt doubling a fleet to leeward than to windward, as, if disabled or separated too far from their own fleet, they cannot so easily extricate themselves and rejoin the fleet.

To avoid being Doubled.

When one fleet attempts to double another, this latter will, of course, do all in their power to avoid the impending danger; and this they will the more readily do, according to their number or their situation. If the fleet thus threatened be to windward, one of the methods proposed to avoid being doubled, is to extend the line towards the point threatened, so as to leave a greater space between the ships; but in doing this there is a risk of having the line broken by the superior enemy. Another method suggested is, for the flag-ships of the windward fleet to oppose themselves to those of the lee line, which is supposed to render several of the enemy's ships in the intervals of little use; but one great inconvenience of this manœuvre is, that it leaves the van and rear most exposed to the enemy's fire, and that the rear division, in particular, is in great danger of being doubled. To remedy these defects, the largest ships should be placed in the van

and rear of each division, and the fleet must regulate its sailing in such a manner that its rear shall never be astern of the rear of the enemy.

When the enemy is to leeward, the weather fleet is to keep astern of the enemy, so that the van of the weather fleet may be opposed to and attack the enemy's centre. Hence the enemy's van will become useless for some time; and should it attempt to tack and double on the weather fleet, much time will be lost in performing that evolution; and it also runs the risk of being separated by the calm which often happens in the course of an engagement, occasioned by the discharge of the guns. A considerable interval might also be left between the centre and the van, if necessary precautions be taken to prevent the van from being cut off.

Of Chasing.

There are several circumstances of importance to be considered in the subject of chasing, i. e., when one ship or fleet pursues another, called the *chase*, either to bring her or them to action, or to oblige them to surrender.

In the case of single Ships.—When a single ship chases another, it is to be presumed, in general, that one of them is the better sailer, though this is not always the case, and still by proper manœuvring the chasing ship, or *chaser*, may gain on the chase. In the following observations, however, we shall suppose the chaser to sail faster than the chase. The manœuvres of the chaser will depend on her being to windward or leeward of the chase. When the chase is to windward, it is evident, that as soon as she perceives a single ship which she takes for an enemy, she will haul her wind, in order to prolong the chase, as otherwise her retreat would soon be cut off. The chaser then stands on nearly close-hauled, till she has the chase on her beam: she then tacks, and stands on close-hauled till the chase is again on her beam, and then retacks. In this manner she continues tacking every time she brings the chase perpendicular to her course on either board; and, by thus manœuvring, it is certain that the chaser will, by the superiority only of her sailing, join the other in the

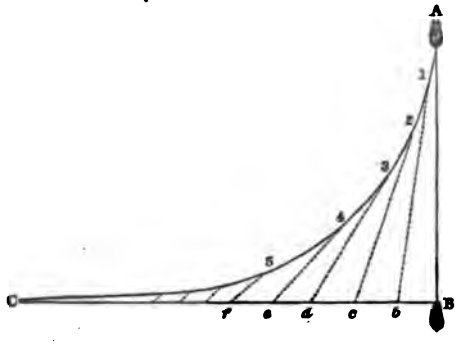
shortest time: for, since the chaser tacks always as soon as the chase is perpendicular to her course, she is then at the shortest distance possible on that board; and, since the chaser is supposed to be the faster sailer, these shortest distances will decrease every time the chaser tacks. It is, therefore, of advantage to the chase to keep constantly on the same course, without losing her time in going about, as tacking cannot be so favourable to her as to her adversary, whose sailing is superior. If the captain of the chaser should so little understand his profession as to stand on a long way, and tack in the wake of the chase, the best thing she can do is to heave in stays, and pass to windward of him on the other tack, except she should find herself likely to gain advantage by going large; for, if the chaser persists in tacking in the wake of the other ship, the pursuit will be very much prolonged.

When the chase is to leeward, the chaser is to steer that course by which she thinks she will gain most on the chase. If, after having run a short time, the chase is found to draw more aft, the chaser should then bear away a little more; but if the chase draw ahead, the chaser should haul up a little, and thus the course may be so regulated that the chase may always bear on the same point, and then the chaser will get up with the chase in the shortest time possible; for if any other course were steered, the chaser would either be too far ahead or too far astern, and hence the pursuit would be prolonged. The chase should run on that course which will carry her directly from the chaser, and should consider which is her best trim with respect to the wind, that she may move with the greatest possible rapidity from the chaser; for some ships have more advantage in going large, others with the wind right aft, and others when close-hauled.

Curve of Pursuit.—Another method has been proposed for chasing a ship to leeward; that is, by constantly steering directly for the chase. In this case, the tract described by the chaser is called the line or *curve of pursuit.* To illustrate this, let A (Fig. 32) represent the chaser, and B the chase directly to leeward of her, and running with less velocity than the pursuer, in the direction B C, perpendicular to that

of the wind. Now, to construct this curve, let B *b* be the distance run by the chase in any short interval of time; join A *b*, and make A 1 equal the distance run by the chaser in the same time. Again, make *b c*, *c d*, *d e*, *e f*, &c., each equal to B *b*; join 1 *c*, and make 1 2 = A 1; join 2 *d*, and make 2 3 equal to A 1; proceed in like manner till the two distances, carried forward, meet at C, and a curve described through the points A, 1, 2, 3, &c., will represent nearly the curve of pursuit; and the less the interval A 1 is taken, the more accurately will the curve be formed. In this particular case, the length of the distance B C may be found as follows, provided the distance A B and the proportional velocities of the two ships be known.

Fig. 32.



Let the velocity of the chase be denoted by a fraction, that of the chaser being unity. Multiply the given distance A B by this fraction, and divide the product by the complement of the square of the same fraction, and the quotient will be the distance run by the chase B. Suppose A B, the distance of the chase directly to leeward of the chaser, be taken at twelve miles, and suppose the velocity of the chase three-fourths of that of the chaser, what will be the distance run by the chase before she is overtaken?

Now $\frac{12\times\frac{3}{4}}{1-\frac{3}{4}|^2}=\frac{9}{\frac{7}{16}}=9\times\frac{16}{7}=20\frac{4}{7}$ miles; and, since the velocity of the chaser to that of the chase is as 4 to 3, hence the distance run by the chaser will be $=20\frac{4}{7}\times\frac{4}{3}=27\frac{3}{7}$ miles. As the chaser alters her course at every point, and probably sails better with the wind in one direction with respect to her course than when the wind is in another direction, her velocity will be different at different points of the course. Thus,

suppose her to sail faster when the wind is on the quarter, her velocity will constantly increase to a certain point, and will then diminish. Hence, in real practice the curve of pursuit will not be exactly what is laid down in the above problem, and of course the measure of B C will differ a little from what we have there laid down.

In the case of Fleets.—If the whole fleet is to give chase, the commander will make the proper signal, and then each ship will instantly make all the sail possible. If the retreating fleet is not much inferior to the other, a few of the fastest sailing vessels only are to be detached from the superior fleet, in order to pick up any stragglers, or those ships which may have fallen astern; and the remaining part of the fleet will keep in the same line or order of sailing as the retreating fleet, so that they may, if possible, force them to action. But if the retreating fleet is much inferior, the commander of the superior fleet will make the signal for a general chase, and then each ship will immediately crowd all the sail possible after the retreating fleet; or, if the chase be still less numerous, the commander will detach one of the squadrons of his fleet, by hoisting the proper signal for that purpose, and he will follow with the remainder of the fleet. The squadron that chases should be very careful not to engage too far in the chase, for fear of being overpowered; but, at the same time, to endeavour to satisfy themselves with regard to the object of their chase. They must pay great attention to the chief commander's signals at all times; and, in order to prevent separation, they should collect themselves before night, especially if there be any appearance of foggy weather coming on, and endeavour to join the fleet again. The ships are diligently to observe when the chief commander makes the signal to give over chase; and each, regarding the chief commander's ship as a fixed point, is to work back into her station, so as to form the order of line again as quickly as the nature of the chase and the distance will permit.

When a fleet is obliged to run from an enemy who is in sight, it is usual to draw up the ships in that form or order called the *Order of Retreat;* and the chief commander, when

hard pursued, without any probability of escaping, ought, if practicable, to run his ships ashore, rather than suffer them to be taken afloat, and thereby give additional strength to the enemy. In short, nothing should be neglected that may contribute to the preservation of his fleet, or prevent any part of it from falling into the hands of the conqueror.

We have now gone through the principal evolutions of fleets and squadrons nearly as they are described in the "Elements of Rigging, Seamanship, and Naval Tactics," and other approved publications on similar subjects. We have, indeed, omitted the method of forcing the enemy's line, and of avoiding being forced, because the former will be readily understood from what we have to add on the improved method of tactics of Monsieur Grenier, and Mr. Clerk, of Eldin.

Defects of the usual Line of Battle.

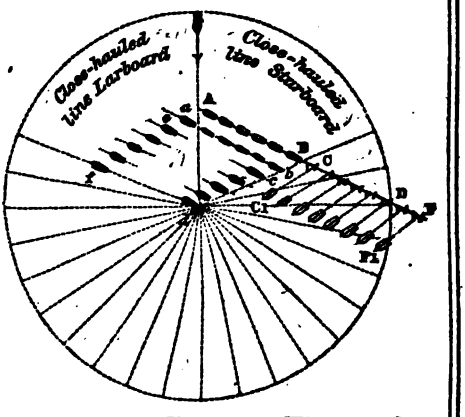
Various defects have been observed in the tactics usually employed at sea, especially in a line of battle, and in the mode of bringing an enemy to action. The usual order of battle, first introduced by the Duke of York, afterwards James II. of England, is defective from its length. Its great extent makes it difficult for the chief commander to judge what orders are proper to be issued to the ships stationed at the extremities, while his signals, however distinctly made, are liable to be mistaken by the commanders of these ships: besides, the extremities of a long line, especially if it be to leeward, are necessarily defenceless, as the enemy may throw himself with a superior force on the van or rear, and cut either of these off before it can be properly supported by the other squadrons. Viscount de Grenier, who was, we believe, one of the first to notice these defects, proposed to remedy them by introducing a new order of battle.

Principles of De Grenier's Method of Tactics.

The leading principles of De Grenier's tactics are founded on the following considerations. It is evident that each ship of a fleet must at all times occupy the centre of a certain horizon: This horizon De Grenier divides into two unequal

parts, calling the greater the *direct and graduated space*, and the less the *indirect, crossed, and ungraduated space.* The reason of these appellations is, that on the greater segment of the horizontal circle there are twenty different points, which may be marked by degrees from one of the close-hauled lines to the other, and to which a ship may sail from the centre by so many direct courses without tacking, whereas from the other twelve points, including that from which the wind blows, she cannot arrive but by steering cross-courses, which must necessarily delay her progress. Suppose, now, a fleet to leeward, so disposed that only a part of it can fight with another equally numerous, and ranged to windward in a single line, and let the lee fleet be ranged on three sides of a lozenge, *a b, c d, e f*, Fig. 33. The squadron *a b*, which is most to windward, being drawn up in line of battle, cannot be fought but by an equal number, A B, C D, E F. All the rest of that fleet, therefore, must remain inactive, unless the ships which are not engaged should try to pass to leeward of the fleet *a b, c d, e f.* But should the ships of the weather fleet, which are placed between B and F, bear away, as they appear in the figure, between C *i* and F *i*, the ships between A and B, which are fighting to windward, cannot bear away with them. Suppose, now, that the ships between C *i* and F *i* have passed to leeward, the squadrons *c d, e f*, which are ranged according to De Grenier's system, and have not yet been engaged, should come to windward, and join with their friends *a b* against that squadron of the enemy A B which is still to windward and engaged; it is almost impossible but that the squadron A B must be de-

Fig. 33.



stroyed by so great a superiority, before it could receive assistance from the ships to leeward between C *i* and F *i*.

De Grenier's Orders of Sailing.—He proposes only three orders of sailing; one, when a fleet is to pass a strait; a second, when it steers in open sea, on the look-out for an enemy, or with a view to avoid him; and a third, when on an extensive cruise, disposed so that it cannot be easily surprised or broken. Of these three orders, only the second and third differ from the usual orders of sailing. The former of these is represented by Fig. 34, where the columns, *a b*, *c d*, *e f*, are disposed on three sides of a regular lozenge, on the two close-hauled lines. The ships of the two divisions *c d*, *e f*, sometimes to windward, as in Fig. 35, and sometimes to leeward, as in Fig. 34, of the third division *a b*, are to be formed on two parallels of one of the close-hauled lines in the wakes of their respective headmost ships, while the third division, *a b*, is to be ranged ahead or astern of the others on the other close-hauled line, steering chequerwise the same course as the other divisions. When *a b* is to windward of *c d* and *e f* (Fig. 34), De Grenier calls that the *windward primitive order of sailing*; and when to leeward (Fig. 35), the fleet is said to be in the *leeward primitive order of sailing*. These are the two principal positions in almost every case, and, with very little variety, may become the order of battle, of chasing, &c.

Fig. 34.

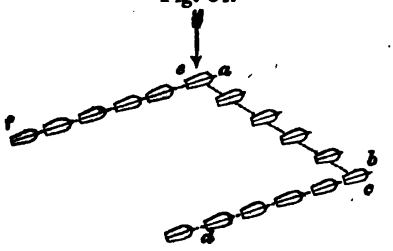
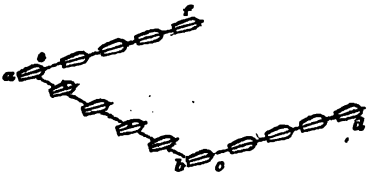


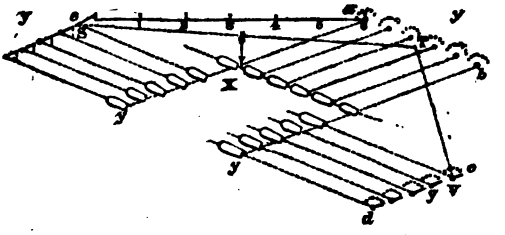
Fig. 35.



His third order is illustrated by Fig. 36, where the divisions *a b* and *e f* are supposed at the distance of about six leagues from each other; *c d* and *e f* resting on the extremities of the base of a triangle S T V, while the centre ship of the

division *a b* rests on its summit T: none of the divisions would be cut off by an enemy, however formidable, seen from its centre ship at the distance of six leagues; for if, on the proper signal, the division *a b* should steer from T toward

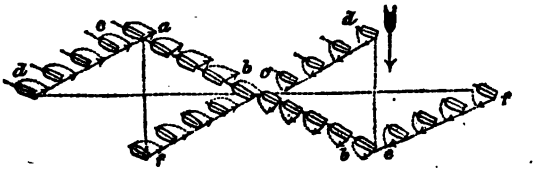
Fig. 36.



X, on the course opposite to the close-hauled line it steered before, and the two divisions *c d* and *e f* steer from V and S towards X likewise, it is plain that each of these divisions would have only three leagues to run in order to join the other two, while the enemy, which was first perceived at the distance of six leagues, must run nine before he can come up with the nearest of these squadrons.

De Grenier's Order of Battle.—To form De Grenier's order of battle, represented in Figs. 37 and 38, it will be sufficient for the ships of the three divisions ranged in the windward primitive order of sailing, to heave in stays all together, and

Fig. 37. Fig. 38.

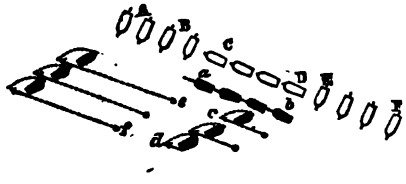


get on the other tack on the opposite line of bearing (Fig. 37); or for the ships in the leeward primitive order at once to haul the wind on the same tack as they steer; and they will find themselves in order of battle, (Fig. 38). When the two columns *c d* and *e f* are to leeward of the third division *a b*, ranged in order of battle, this is called the *natural order of battle;* and when *c d* and *e f* are to windward of *a b*, this is

called the *inverted order of battle.* The former of these is calculated for a fleet combating to leeward, and the latter for a fleet which must fight to windward.

To explain the advantages of these dispositions, let us suppose the line A B, C D, E F, Fig. 39, to represent an enemy's fleet to windward in the usual order of battle, on the close-hauled line, and on the starboard tack; and let *a b* be one of the divisions of a fleet disposed according to the now natural order, on the starboard tack, while the lines *c d*, *e f*, represent the other two divisions standing on chequerwise on the same tack, but formed on the opposite close-hauled line. When the enemy comes to attack this latter fleet on a supposition that it is inferior to their own, their divisions A B and E F, in order to attack the ships *a* or *b*, must bear away. Now, to prevent the attack, each of the divisions *c d*, *e f*, must make the following evolutions, according to their respective situations and the manœuvres of the enemy. 1. The ships of the division *a b* are to slacken as much as possible their headways, and form a very close line, till the enemy makes a movement to attack the headmost or sternmost ship of that division. 2. The ships of the division *c d* are to make sail till they come under the second or third ship of the rear of the line of battle *a b*, when they will take the same sail as the ships of that division, to preserve that position until the hostile ships make their evolution to attack the rear ships of that division. In this situation the ships of the division *c d* will be able to observe the manœuvres of the enemy, in order to change tack, and form themselves in order of battle on the opposite board as soon as the hostile ships shall have run over a certain space; because the ships of the division *c d*, steering afterwards close-hauled in the wake of the sternmost ship of the division *a b*, will be able to cover the rear ships of that division, and get the weather-gage of the hostile divisions which are bearing away; rake their ships;

Fig. 39.



run alongside of them; double their rear-guard, and put it between two fires, if those hostile ships are following in the wake of each other; divide it, if they bear away chequerwise; or gain to windward, and put between two fires the enemy's division C D, while engaged with the division *a b*. 3. The division *e f* may abandon their post, and run chequerwise under a press of sail, as soon as the enemy falls ahead of *a b*; that if the enemy's division A B attempt to fall on *e f*, or on the van of *a b*, they may, by going about, steer in order of battle close-hauled on the opposite line, and cover the ship *a*, double the hostile division C D ahead, or divide A B, which is running chequerwise on the opposite tack.

Fig. 40.

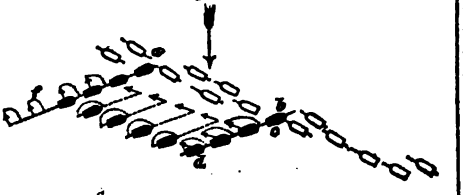
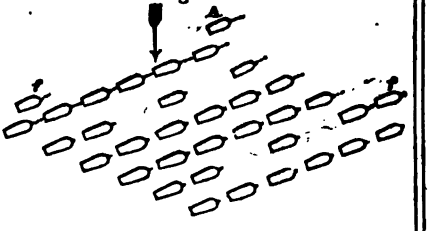


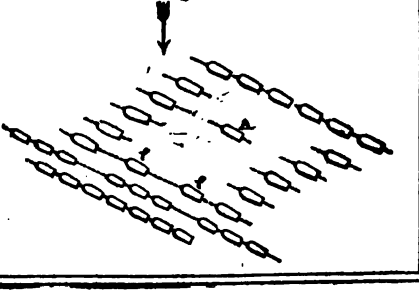
Fig. 40 marks another method of manœuvring by the divisions *c d*, *e f*, when the enemy's ships are arranged in a single line, not well formed.

Fig. 41.



Figs. 41 and 42 illustrate De Grenier's method of placing the chief commander's ship, and the frigates and transports attached to a fleet. A, Fig. 41, is the chief commander, placed ahead of the fleet, at a short distance from the headmost of the second division, and in the same direction of the wind as the headmost ship of the first division: *f*, *f*, are two frigates, observing the same rule and position with respect to the van ship of the third, and

Fig. 42.



rear of the first division. When the fleet is in order of battle, as in Fig. 42, the chief commander's ship, A, is in the centre of the lozenge, and two of the frigates, *f*, *f*, are on the fourth side of the lozenge. The transports and store-ships, when the fleet is in order of sailing or convoy, occupy the space circumscribed by the lozenge, but in order of battle they are disposed in a line, opposite to that of the enemy.

Such are the principles of L'Art de Guerre en Mer, ou Tactique Navale, &c., par M. le Viscompte de Grenier.

Mr. Clerk's Tactics.

His Objections to the usual Method of Attack.—Before entering on an explanation of Mr. Clerk's tactics, it will be proper to state his objections to the usual method of bringing ships to action, by the weather ship or fleet steering directly down upon the enemy. By doing this, the enemy to leeward often has an opportunity of completely disabling the ships making the attack, as the former can use all their guns on one side, while the latter can only use their bow-chasers. Suppose B,

Fig. 43.

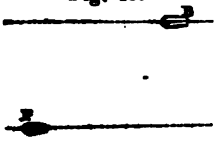


Fig. 44.



Fig. 43, to represent a ship of eighty guns to windward, in sight of an enemy's ship of equal force, F, to leeward. Now, if B bears down directly upon F, the latter, by lying to, as in Fig. 44, will present a broadside of forty guns, all bearing for a considerable time on B, while the latter, coming down headwise, can only bring the two light guns of her forecastle to bear on F; not to mention that F, by lying broadside to, will have her masts and rigging little exposed to the enemy's shot, while B, standing head on, is exposed to be raked by every shot from F; and in particular, her rigging is in the utmost danger.

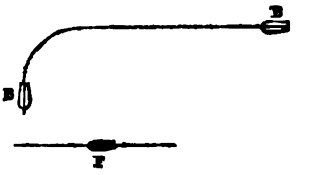
Clerk's new method.—Instead of this objectionable mode of attack, Mr. Clerk proposes that B, having the wind, should run down astern, as in the dotted line at Fig. 45, till she gets into the course of F, near her wake, or in such a position as will bring her parallel to F's course, and within a proper

distance, when she can run up close alongside of F, and engage on equal terms; or, that she should shoot ahead, then veer,

Fig. 45.



Fig. 46.

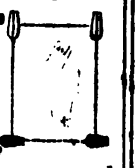


and run down on the weather bow of F, as in Fig. 46, till she can force the chase to bear away to leeward, keeping close by her, on equal terms, taking care, in both cases, not to put it in the power of F to bring her broadside to bear on her without retaliation.

Effects of firing at the Hull or Rigging.

Fig. 47 is employed by Mr. Clerk to illustrate the different procedure of a French and an English man of war in firing, the former at the rigging, and the latter at the hull of the enemy, with their effects. Let F represent a large ship desirous of avoiding a close engagement, but lying to to receive with advantage an enemy's ship, B, of equal force. Suppose that F, by firing at the rigging of B, may have carried away some of the principal stays, several of the windward shrouds, a fore-topmast, or other rigging of less consequence, without having wounded a single man; and suppose a second ship, consort to F, receiving an enemy's ship like B, but firing only at her hull, so as to kill thirty or forty men, without damaging her rigging. Now, when F and her consort wish to avoid a close engagement, it is evident that the ship B, which has lost part of her rigging, is much more disabled from coming to close action than her consort, whose rigging is entire, though she may have lost a great number of her men.

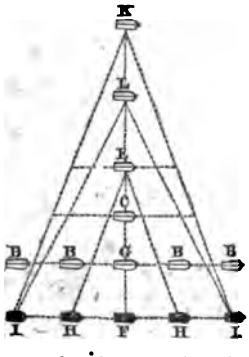
Fig. 47.



One Ship of the Line cannot be exposed to the Fire of many Ships.

By the scheme at Fig. 48, it is intended to illustrate the impossibility of one ship being exposed to the fire of many ships at one time. Let I, H, F, H, I, represent five ships in line of battle ahead, about a cable's length, or 240 yards asunder; and suppose the length of each ship to be forty yards, so that the whole space between the head of one ship and the head of that next adjacent equals 280 yards. Let the perpendicular line F K, extending from the beam of F six cables' lengths, or 1440 yards, be divided into six equal parts. It is evident that any ship stationed at E in the line F K, 720 yards distant, cannot long be exposed to the fire of more than the centre ship, F, of this squadron. For, if we suppose that H and K, ahead and astern of F, can bring their broadsides to bear on E, by putting themselves in positions for that purpose, they will not only disorder their own line, but one will leave her head and the other her stern exposed to a raking fire from the opposite ships B B in the enemy's line. If B can suffer little from the two ships H, H, at the distance of 720 yards, it is evident that she will suffer still less from these ships as she approaches nearer the enemy's line. Again, if, instead of a cable's length asunder, we suppose the ships I, F, I, two cables' length asunder, to bear on the ship B, it is evident from the figure, that in this case B will not be more exposed to the fire of I and I at the distance of 1440 yards, than she was to that of H and H at half that distance; and so in similar cases.

Fig. 48.



Principles on which the bringing of Ships to Action is founded.

In explaining the principles on which we are to judge of the advantages or defects of different modes of bringing ships

to action, Mr. Clerk supposes a fleet of ten, twenty, or more ships of eighty guns each, drawn up in line of battle to leeward, as at F, (Fig. 49), and lying to with an intention of avoiding an action; while another fleet as B, of equal number and force, also drawn up in line of battle, three or four miles to windward, wishes to make an attack, and come to close quarters on equal terms. The fleets being thus disposed, should the fleet at B attempt running down to attack the fleet at F, each ship standing head on to the opposite ship in the leeward line, it is to be expected, from what we have already stated, that the attacking ships will be disabled at least in their rigging before they can come to close action; but, suppose that the commander of the weather fleet, though his ships have been disabled in their rigging during their course *a a a*, to leeward, Fig. 50, has made them bring to at a great distance, but sufficiently near to injure F; this latter fleet, which has been endeavouring to avoid an action, will now bear away with little injury to a new station, as G, and there remain out of the reach of B's shot; and this fleet must repair its rigging before it can make another attack.

Fig. 49.

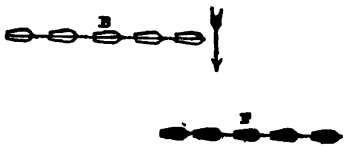
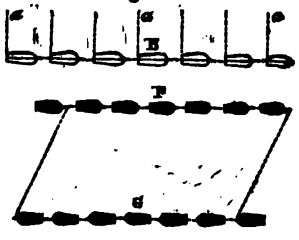
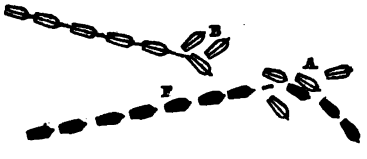


Fig. 50.



Again, suppose that the fleet B, instead of standing head on, were to run down in an angular course, as in Fig. 51. It is plain that if any ship in this angular line should be crippled, her defect in sailing will occasion a confusion of several of the other ships in that line. It may be said, that the stoppage of one ship ahead will not necessarily produce a stoppage of every ship astern of her, because they may run to leeward of the

Fig. 51.



disabled ship; but we must observe that by this time the ships ahead in the van of A may be engaged, and consequently, not having much headway, are nearly stationary, so that each ship astern, in attempting to bear down, as at D, D, may be confined to a certain course, and must run the risk of being raked in coming down before the wind, and consequently, of being disabled before coming up with the enemy.

Thirdly, the van of the fleet B having attained their station at A, abreast of the van of F, Fig. 52, and having begun the action, the van ships of F, with a view to retreat, may throw in a broadside on the van of B, and then bear away in succession, as at H, followed by the rest of the fleet F, which, after exchanging broadsides with the van of B, may draw up in a new line two or three miles to leeward, at I, I, Fig. 53.

Fig. 52.

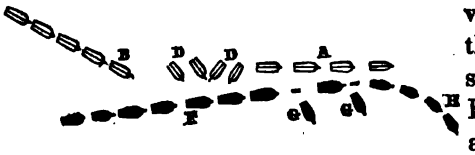
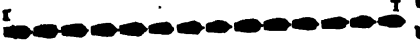
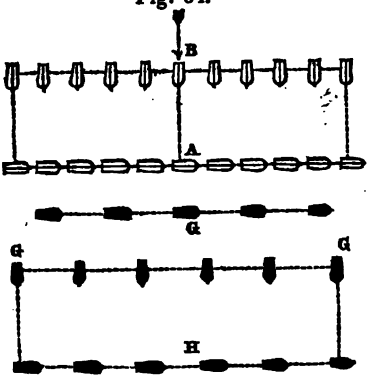


Fig. 53.



Suppose, again, for further illustration, that B, Fig. 54, represents a fleet putting before the wind, each ship intending, when brought to at a determined distance at A, to take up her particular antagonist in the line of the enemy, F, to leeward; and let F be supposed at rest, without any motion ahead. It is easy to conceive that, while the alternate ships of F's line, under cover of the smoke, withdraw from battle to G, G, G, the intermediate ships left behind them in the line will be sufficient to amuse even the

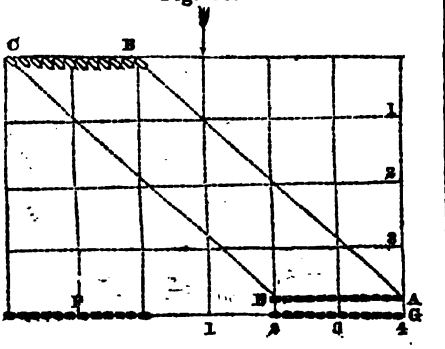
Fig. 54.



whole of B's fleet, till the ships G shall form a new line H, as a support from the leeward. In such case B, after being disabled, and not having foreseen the manœuvre, will neither be able to prevent the intermediate ships with which he is engaged from bearing away to join their friends, nor, were he able, would it be advisable to follow them; for the same manœuvre, with equal success, can again and again be repeated.

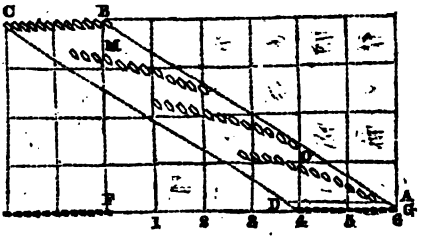
To explain the relative motion of these two fleets, let F, Fig. 55, represent a fleet of twelve ships in line of battle, a cable's length asunder, and suppose the length of each ship from the end of the jib-boom to the stern to be 36⅔ fathoms. The whole fleet will occupy a space of two English miles; and if it be supposed to sail in the direction F G, at the rate of four knots an hour, it will in an hour have moved to G, four miles from its former position.

Fig. 55.



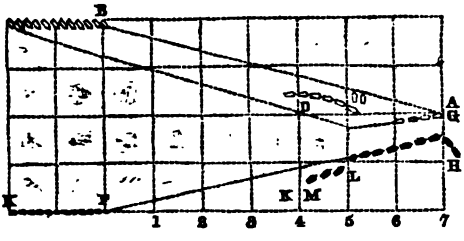
Now, let there be an opposite fleet B, also twelve ships, situated four miles to windward, and let the point A be a quarter of a mile right to windward of the point G. Then, if B, by bearing away in the direction B A, gain the point A at the same time that the leeward fleet F has arrived at G, B will have moved nearly at the rate of 5½ miles an hour, and the angle contained between the direction of its line of bearing and its present course will be nearly four points.

Fig. 56.



Secondly, in Fig. 56, if F, by carrying more sail, move at the rate of six miles an hour from F to G, then B, with a more slanting course, will have more difficulty in keeping the line abreast while coming down to the attack, owing to the additional obstruction which will attend each succeeding ship in such a slanting course. Again, if the leeward fleet shall lie up one point higher, as F G, Fig. 57, the rears of the two fleets will be removed to a much greater distance, and the van A must be sooner up with the enemy's van, and of course, so much farther from support, while F, bringing up his ships in succession, may disable the van of A, and afterwards bear away at pleasure with little injury, as at H. Now B being supposed disabled, and having his rear D, distracted, will be unable to prevent F from escaping.

Fig. 57.



From these considerations, it appears that a fleet to windward, by extending its line of battle, with a view to stop and attack the whole line of an enemy's fleet to leeward, must labour under considerable disadvantages, and will scarcely succeed in the attempt.

New Mode of Attack from the Windward.

On these principles Mr. Clerk explains the reason why the French fleets so repeatedly escaped from the English without any serious defeat or loss, viz., by avoiding a general engagement, and disabling the English van as it bore down to attack them. He therefore recommends a different mode of attack from the windward, which we shall proceed to illustrate by proper diagrams.

Let F, Fig. 58, represent a fleet in line of battle, under easy sail, willing to avoid an action, but ready to receive an attack in the usual way, from another fleet B, three or four miles to windward, arranged in three columns. How shall

B make the attack on F, so as, without aiming at the impro-

Fig. 58.



bable advantage of taking or destroying the greater part of this fleet, they may secure three or four of the sternmost ships? Mr. Clerk advises that a sufficient strength be detached to secure these ships, while the chief commander keeps aloof with the rest of his fleet, disposed as in the figure, ready to make the necessary observations, and give the requisite support to the detached ships. If F continues to avoid an action by standing on in line, the detachment, coming into the position B A, will secure the three ships at I; and if the headmost ships of F were to tack, and be followed by the rest in succession, as in Fig. 59, not only the three ships at I will be left at the mercy of the ships detached from B, but two more, as G, will be exposed to an attack from another squadron of B, at C. If all the ships of F tack together, as in Fig. 60, the delay, and probably the confusion, consequent on this manœuvre, will still more endanger the sternmost ships, or will bring on a general and close action. Again, if F attempts to haul off, beginning with his sternmost ship G, and then runs to leeward, as at Fig. 61, he will expose his ships to a raking fire from B, and still endanger his sternmost ships, by getting too far to leeward for their support; or, if

Fig. 59.

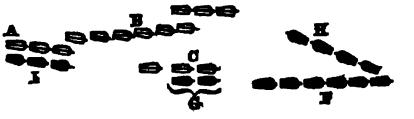
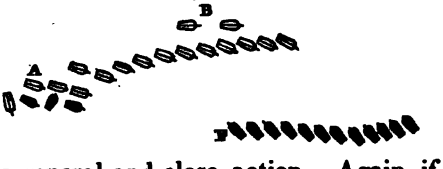


Fig. 60.



the headmost ships at H, Fig. 62, veer first, and be followed by the rest astern, the danger would be still greater. Thus it appears that, in every assignable case, a fleet to leeward,

Fig. 61.

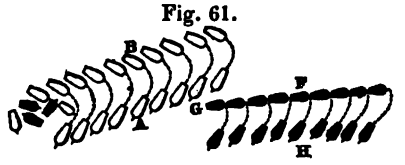


Fig. 62.



Fig. 63.



avoiding an attack from an equal or superior to windward, as here advised, by preserving the line, will risk the loss of three or more of their sternmost ships.

Now, let us suppose that F, while standing on a line on the larboard tack, when threatened with an attack on his rear from B, veers and passes on opposite tacks to leeward. (See Fig. 63.) The consequence of this will be, that his headmost ships will be forced to leeward by B; and compelled to engage under disadvantageous circumstances; and the disadvantage to F will be much the same, whether he again veers and resumes his former position, as at G, Fig. 64, or stands on before the wind as at P, Fig. 65.

Fig. 64.

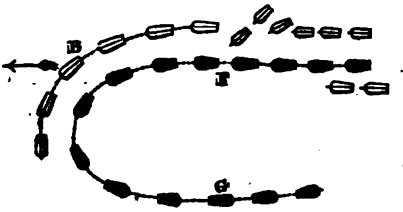
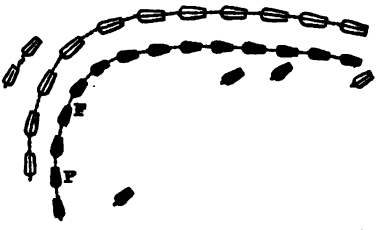


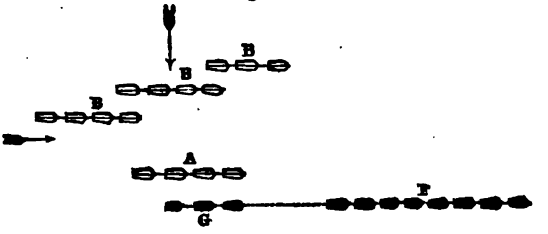
Fig. 65.



We have hitherto supposed that the wind has been fixed to one point; but let us suppose it to shift, and let us inquire what will be the effect of such a circumstance on the two lines F and B. While the fleets are in the former position, F in line, and B in four divisions, B, B, B, A,

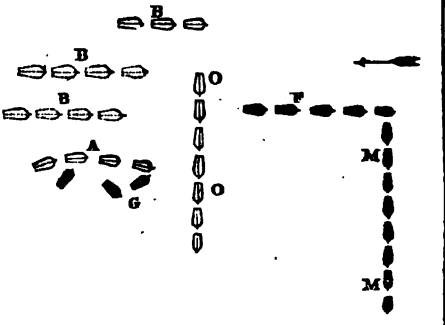
steering east, with the wind at north, (Fig. 66,) let the wind

Fig. 66.



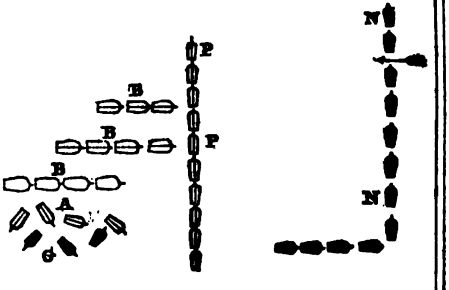
shift to the west. The only consequence of this will be, that F will be thrown still farther to leeward, to its greater disadvantage. But let the wind shift to east, so as to be ahead, as in Figs. 67 and 68; still, if the commander of B manages properly, and carefully watches the motions of F, this change will produce no advantage to the latter. For B has nothing to do but veer as the wind comes round, so as to bring his ships to windward of the three sternmost ships of F, and to leeward of the rest of his line, so as to cut off the three sternmost ships.

Fig. 67.



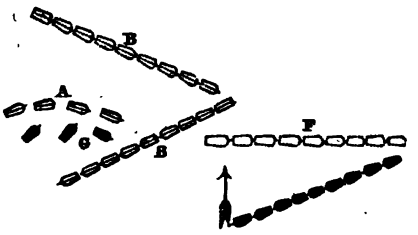
If the wind should be supposed to veer from point to point, all round the compass, so that the fleet F, maintaining the weather-gage of B, shall make a circuit round B to leeward; still, if B act cautiously, F will lose the three threatened ships.

Fig. 68.



Lastly, suppose the wind should instantly shift to a point opposite to what it was at the commencement of the attack, as from north to south. Before it can be ascertained whether such a change will be to the advantage or disadvantage of F, the relative situations of the two fleets must be considered. Suppose that the van and centre be separated at some distance from his rear, and that in consequence this fleet shall have taken such a position as is shown at Fig. 69. Though in this case he will have got to windward, his three ships can never be regained or preserved from the attack of B. The most favourable situation for F would be when the fleets were in the position denoted by Fig. 66, as then he could not only support his three ships with advantage, but even threaten, and cut off a part of B's detachment. In attempting this, however, he incurs the risk of coming to a close engagement, which we have supposed him to be sedulously avoiding.

Fig. 69.



From the Leeward.

Besides this method of attack from the windward, by detachments from the main fleet, Mr. Clerk shows how a successful attack may be made by a fleet *to leeward*, by its breaking the enemy's line, and this, either near the rear, near the centre, or not far from the van, of which cases the two former will be most likely to prove successful. The enemy's line can only be cut when the two hostile fleets veer on opposite tacks. The most simple method of effecting this is, for the van ship of the attacking squadron, instead of ranging parallel to that of the enemy, and to leeward of him, to pass through the first interval that offers, followed by the rest of the line, which is thus led across that of the enemy. In consequence of this manœuvre, the van of the leeward fleet will be to windward of the enemy's rear, and thus the attacking squadron will

have its line entire, while that of its adversary is divided. Again, the ships of the rear division, having their progress obstructed, will probably crowd on each other, get into confusion, and be driven to leeward.

Having now laid down the fundamental rules by which armies and fleets are managed, we shall, in the next chapter, commence the American Wars, at a period when WASHINGTON commences his great career, and the British urge their preposterous doctrine—the right of taxing colonies not represented in her government; which led, finally, to a rupture between the "mother country" and her infant colonies.

PART II.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Cause of the War—The Ohio Company—George Washington's Mission to the Western Wilderness—His Sufferings and Dangers—His Return.

When our enterprising fathers had become willing exiles, far from the land of their birth, to seek a home in an almost unknown and trackless wilderness, where they hoped to escape from that religious persecution, and political oppression, which had for ages swept like a moral pestilence over the earth, or lay as a heavy load on the souls of men; when their unceasing toils had opened the forest to the fertilizing rays of the sun, and sheltered them from the inclemency of the elements; when they had struggled for years against a foe who was eloquent in council, brave and artful in the field, ferocious in anger, their lives teeming with disgusting excess and brutal passion, despising danger and death, neither asking for, nor extending mercy; when they had encountered the shaggy bear, and heard the terrifying roar of the lion, the fierce growl of the sanguinary tiger, and the howl of the rapacious wolf around their little habitations, where the general stillness which reigned in the vast forest was broken, only by the thunder of the cataract, the deep voice of Indians, or the moanings of wild beasts, as they "roared after their prey, and sought their meat from God;" when the quarrels between foreign monarchs had involved our fathers in a bloody war

with the French and Indians in the reign of William III; when the jealousy subsisting between the British, French, and Spanish, aided by an ungovernable thirst for power and dominion in America, had again impoverished and distressed the colonies, crimsoned the soil with the blood of the valiant in the time of Queen Anne's War; when similar causes had aroused the demon War again, to spread terror and death, with fire and sword, in the reign of George II, during which periods, men professing to be *Christians*, turned those ruthless blood-hounds of the forest against each other, who, rushing from their ambushes with fiendish yell, often waged inglorious war, with the tomahawk and scalping-knife, against the weak and the innocent; and when all these horrors, like a legion of destroying fiends, had stalked over the infant colonies, crushing for a time almost every ray of hope, and darkening the tortured mind with dread and paralyzing despair, hope burst suddenly upon their delighted vision, and the gladdened multitude with tearful eyes

> "Gave to seraphic harps their sounding lays,
> Their joys to angels, and to men their praise."

Human happiness or misery is more acutely felt by contrast. Men who excite themselves to joy and hilarity one day, are gloomy and often miserable the next, by contrast. This is the case after a ball, or other great convivial sports, not so much from the fatigue, as from the deprivation of the stimulus of the exhilirating scene. If, on the other hand, men are depressed until their agonized hearts seem to bleed; if the cause of misery is merely removed, this *negative* joy will almost make them frantic. These being facts which every reflecting mind must acknowledge, it is easy to conceive the mental agony of the colonists, when again the dread tocsin fell upon their startled ears, ushering in a seven years' war, which once more hurried them from their peaceful homes to engage in the bloody conflict.

This is commonly called the *French and Indian War;* though rather indefinitely, for in reality it was a war between France and England, in which the Indians were employed as allies.

The cause of this war was the alleged encroachments of the French upon Nova Scotia, upon the Ohio territory, and even Virginia.

The French had founded New France or Canada. Quebec and Montreal were strongly fortified, as well as other settlements in New France. The frontier was also defended at Louisburg, Cape Breton, by the forts of Lake Champlain, Niagara, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and at other points.

With such a formidable power, commanding the lakes in the north, with the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi river in the south, having settled a colony in Louisiana, the French formed the bold and grand design of erecting a chain of fortifications from their northern to their southern possessions, drive the English back, and restrict their settlements to the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains.

In pursuance of this design, the French built a fort at Presqu' Ile, on Lake Erie, others along French Creek, and at a later period fort Du Quesne, at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. A fort was also built at the junction of the Wabash and Ohio, together with temporary fortifications at proper distances.

By placing the map of the United States before you, marking the mouth of the Mississippi river, the mouth of the Wabash, Pittsburg, the course of French Creek, a branch of the Ohio, and the lakes of the north, you will perceive the contemplated chain of defence. This expedient may at least serve to keep us awake until we shall hear the noise of battle.

The hostile feelings and intentions already existing, it only required some overt act to light the smoking torch of war into a full blaze.

The Ohio Company, so called from the river of that name, composed of influential men from London and Virginia, had obtained a charter grant of a large tract of land near the Ohio, for the twofold purpose of settling the country, and trading in fur with the Indians. The Governor of Canada determining to execute the favourite project of uniting Canada with Louisiana, wrote to the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York, declaring that he would seize all English traders

who would make further encroachments upon what he esteemed French territory. As the land had been granted to the English from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, they regarded the French as presumptuous intruders, and thus, viewing each other like two pugnacious cats in a garret, the English continued their trade with the Indians until several of them were seized and carried to Presqu' Ile on Lake Erie.

This aroused the indignation of the company, who, complaining to Dinwiddie, Lieut. Governor of Virginia, a full and eloquent statement of the aggressions of the French was laid before the Assembly, which empowered the Lieut. Governor to despatch a messenger to the French commandant stationed within the disputed territories, to demand explanations of his hostile conduct, and to order him to withdraw his troops from the English possessions.

But who would have the courage to undertake so arduous and dangerous a mission, and who would have the capacity to execute it? Who would wander through an almost unexplored wilderness, over so large a surface of country, inhabited only by Indians, many of whom were hostile to the English? A young man aged only twenty-one years appears before his excellency. The down of youth has just commenced growing on his cheek. He dreads no danger, but his proud and lofty soul, already developed, shrinks back from the thought that he might be rejected on account of his youth. *George Washington never trembled* in the presence of a foe. He never disobeyed the call of his country, however difficult or perilous the task to be performed. He never undertook the most Herculean task that did not, in the end, gain him the esteem and applause of his countrymen.

The governor places a commission into his hands. And now, like Luther, who would go to Worms, in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houses were there combined against him, Washington resolved to go, though all the Indians, with the commander-in-chief of the legion to which Luther alluded, should oppose him; and not to relax his efforts until he arrived at the destined fort, in the western wilderness.

See, where the Alleghany mountain invades the sky,

"On a throne of rocks, in a robe of clouds,
With a diadem of snow."

The winter blasts drive back the life-blood upon the shuddering hearts of men; the clouds roll in swift and heavy masses along the arched vault of the heavens; the tempestuous winds tear from the earth the majestic oak and hurl it down from the dizzy height with a crash that echoes over the trembling earth; torrents of rain sweep furiously through the air, and, mingling with the snow, quickly swell the silvery streamlets into dark and howling rivers, until

"Wide o'er the brim, with many a torrent swell'd,
And the mix'd ruin of its banks o'erspread,
At last the roused-up river pours along:
Resistless, roaring, dreadful, down it comes
From the rude mountain, and the mossy wild,
Tumbling through rocks abrupt, and sounding far;
Then o'er the sanded valley floating spreads,
Calm, sluggish; till again, constrain'd,
Between two meeting hills, it bursts away
Where rocks and woods o'erhang the turbid stream;
It boils, and wheels, and foams, and thunders through."

Now look again, and you will see a young man aged about twenty-one years climbing up the mountain, with breathless toil, wet, and hungry, and cold, amid the terrible war of the elements. His servants, and even the tawny sons of the forest who guide his way, look around them with dismay; but he toils onward with a countenance that bespeaks the high unwavering soul, the dauntless heart, the love of true and honourable glory. The welfare of his country uppermost in his mind, has become a passion which rolls like a torrent over, and crushes every thought of danger or bodily suffering.

Again, we see young Washington wander on the Monongahela, where he holds council with the Indian chiefs with the wisdom of a Nestor.

He travels again, accompanied by the chiefs, a distance of sixty miles, through incessant rains, until they arrive at a French fortification, at the mouth of French Creek, a branch of the Ohio, where they met Capt. Joncaire, who sends them

on another four days' journey up the creek, during which they encounter excessive rains, snow, mire, swamps, and every thing that is abominable to the traveller, to a fort commanded by a general officer.

Washington delivers his letter, and receives in answer from the commandant, M. St. Pierre, that he was only responsible to the Governor of Canada, under whose orders he was acting.

And now, hear the man who afterwards wrenched a sceptre from the paws of the British lion, and placed it into the hands of his countrymen. He is now returning part of the way by water, having sent his horses forward:

"We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had like to have been staved against rocks; and many times were obliged all hands to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place, the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water; we were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22d December.

"This creek is extremely crooked; I dare say, the distance between the fort and Venango cannot be less than one hundred and thirty miles, to follow the meanders."

At Venango, situated at the mouth of French creek, Washington met his horses again. He continues,

"Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy, (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require,) that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking-dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his honour the Governor, I deter-

mined to prosecute my journey, the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

"Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money, and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient despatch in travelling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch-coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering Town, (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannapins Town,) we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far, as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day; since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling until quite dark, and got to the river (Monongahela) about two miles above Shannapins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work: we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off: but before we were half-way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft-logs.

"Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get on either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

"The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers, and some of his toes frozen; and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice, in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war; but coming to a place on the head of the Great Kanawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped, (all but one woman with very light hair,) they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians of the Ottoway nation, &c., who did it.

"From the first day of December to the fifteenth, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey, we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it."

Washington commenced this journey from Williamsburg, on the 31st of October, 1753, and returned on the 16th of January, 1754, when he received the thanks of his government, and the applause of the people.

CHAPTER II.

The British Ministry instructs the Virginians to expel the French from the Ohio Territory—Young Washington's first Campaign—Marches to the Great Meadows—Surprises and takes a Detachment of French and Indians—Erects a Stockade—Attacked by Count de Villier—Brave Defence against Superior Numbers—Accepts honourable Terms of Capitulation—Receives the Thanks of the Legislature.

THE French having shown no disposition to relinquish the territory which they claimed by right of discovery, the British

ministry instructed the inhabitants of Virginia to expel their unwelcome neighbours from the Ohio Territory by the force of arms.

A regiment of three hundred men was raised, which was joined by an independent company from South Carolina, and Washington, who had been appointed one of the Adjutants-General of Virginia, with the rank of Major, at the age of nineteen years, to train the militia for actual service, was now, in the twenty-third year of his age, raised to the rank of Colonel, and intrusted with the command of this little army.

In April, 1754, Washington marched for the Great Meadows, in the disputed territories, to which he hastened to protect the people, and to preserve the good will of the friendly Indians, who might otherwise be influenced by the enemy.

On his arrival he was informed by some friendly Indians that the French were engaged in completing a fortification at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and that a detachment of French and Indians from that station had encamped within a few miles of the Great Meadows. The friendly Indians serving as guides, Washington marched during a dark and rainy night, surrounded, surprised, fired, and rushed upon the enemy about day-break, who immediately surrendered. One of the enemy was killed, and one ran away. The former was their commander, Jumoville, and the other will excuse us for not recording his name, which, by some singular negligence, was not made immortal in a bulletin; which, however, was better than to have a bullet-in his body; at least this appears to have been his philosophy.

If some mischievous individual should feel inclined to pronounce this daring enterprise of young Washington, where only one man was killed, a mere Quixotic adventure, or a Hudibrastic exploit, or compare it with a battle in the latter work, where only one man (the fiddler) is wounded in his wooden leg and his fiddle, let it be remembered, that it is easier to kill a bear than to catch one alive. Or, if you prefer the figure, take a herd of buffaloes for the bear. Before we conclude our work we may be able to show that Washington was famous for *catching armies alive!*

After erecting a small stockade or military fence, made with stakes or posts fastened in the earth, which was subsequently called fort Necessity, the troops proceeded towards fort Du Quesne, with something less than four hundred men, to take that place: but after marching about thirteen miles, they were told by their Indian friends, in their peculiar and figurative language, that the enemy was coming as thick as the wild pigeons of the woods, which in those days were exceedingly numerous in "pigeon time." Washington immediately retreated to his little fort, on which Count de Villier, with about 1100 men, French and Indians, soon made a most furious attack from behind the trees and high grass, which was resisted with a bravery and skill that elicited the astonishment and *military admiration* of the French.

A handful of young men, who had never found much use for razor-strops, who had just relinquished their hold on their mothers' apron strings, surrounded by three times their number of experienced French warriors, and desperate savages, whose brutal delight is war, plunder, and torture of their captives; far away from their homes, their relations, and the aid of their countrymen; in a vast wilderness, which to them must have appeared at once a desert and a grave, not only sustain the shock from morning at ten o'clock until dark, by fighting in the fort, but also on the outside, in a ditch nearly filled with mud and water, where Washington himself continued all day. Their little volcano was in a continuous state of eruption. The wild animals fled in the utmost consternation, then stopped, looked dismayed, and ran again. The wild bird, with a scream, forsook its nest and rushed through the thicket; then returning towards its young, is seized with alarm and flies again; and all are marvelling at the dreadful tumult that shakes their native woods.

After this long and desperate conflict, in which about fifty-eight of the Virginia regiment were killed and wounded, with a number of the Independents, and about two hundred of the enemy, a fearful proportion of their whole number, on both sides, the French commander offered the most honourable terms of capitulation, for the second time. Washington, aware that

he must ultimately be overpowered by numbers, signed the articles, surrendered the fort, marched out with all the honours of war, kept his arms and baggage, marched to Virginia, received the thanks of the legislature for himself and the officers under his command, three hundred pistoles for his soldiers, and shouts of applause from his countrymen.

CHAPTER III.

British Ministry recommend a Union of the Colonies, and to make a Treaty with the "Five Nations"—Convention at Albany—Treaty with the Indians—Plan of Uniting the Colonies—Rejected—British Ministry propose another Plan—Also rejected—Parliament resolves to carry on the War with British Troops, aided by the Colonists—General Braddock despatched—Plan of Campaign—Expedition against French Forts in Nova Scotia—Expedition against Fort Du Quesne—Braddock's Defeat and Death—Washington's Bravery and extraordinary Escape—Dunbar's Flight—Dreadful Murders and Outrages of the Indians—Washington endeavours to arrest them—Governor Shirley's Expedition—General William Johnson's Expedition.

THE British ministry perceiving that more energetic measures would be necessary, recommended to the colonies to unite their strength for the common defence, and to make a treaty with the "Five Nations."

In accordance with this recommendation, through the Earl of Holderness, Secretary of State to the colonial governors, a convention of delegates from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, with the lieutenant-governor and council of New York, assembled at Albany, where they effected a treaty with the Five Nations, and adopted a plan for uniting the colonies on the 4th of July, 1754, the day on which Washington surrendered fort Necessity.

The plan of union of the colonies was to form a general assembly of delegates from all the colonies, with a governor-general appointed by the crown, who would not only have a negative voice on the acts of the council, but power to raise money and troops in the colonies, lay duties, regulate trade, &c.

This proposed union was objected to by the provincial assemblies and the British government. By the former, because it conferred too much power on the king, and by the latter, on the ground that such a union of the people might endanger the supremacy of the mother country. Indeed the fears of both parties were well founded; for the British government soon after claimed and urged the power of taxing the colonies, and the provincial assemblies declared that if a union of the colonies would be effected *they could defend themselves against the enemy without any assistance of England.* Such an assertion might indeed startle the king on his throne; for if the united colonists had no fear of so powerful an enemy as the French, at their doors, they had no reason to dread the roar of the British lion at a distance.

The British ministry now proposed another plan, by which they would enjoy all the benefits resulting from victory without bearing any of the expenses. They wished to unite the governors with one or two of their council into a convention, who should meet and adopt measures to carry on the war, with the privilege of drawing upon the British treasury for the necessary sums. This scheme met with universal disapprobation among the colonists, as it contained a provision that Parliament would undertake to repay the expenses of the war *by imposing a general tax upon the colonies.* As the colonies were not represented in the British Parliament, this proceeding would at once lead to dependence and slavery, and expose them to the stupid insolence, the cruel oppression, and wide-spread impositions of king's collectors.

The British Parliament, afraid at this critical period to throw any more such fire-brands among the colonists, which might arouse their just indignation, determined to relinquish the subject of taxation for the present, and to carry on the war with British troops, aided by occasional reinforcements from the colonies.

Early in the spring of 1755, one of the most important campaigns was commenced that had ever occurred in America. Both nations sent reinforcements from Europe. General Braddock was despatched from Ireland to America at

the head of two regiments of infantry, commanded by Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar, and in April he convened the colonial governors, in Virginia, to arrange a plan for the ensuing campaign. Three expeditions were planned. The first, commanded by Braddock himself, was to march against fort Du Quesne; the second against forts Niagara and Frontinac, under the command of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts; and the third, commanded by General William Johnson, a member of the New York council, was to march against Crown Point with a body of militia raised in New England and New York.

While the convention of governors was sitting in Virginia, another expedition, consisting of 3000 militia of Massachusetts, under Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, sailed from Boston on the 20th May, against the French forts in Nova Scotia. They arrived at Chignecto, on the Bay of Fundy, on the 11th of June, and being joined by 300 British troops, with a small train of artillery, they proceeded against, invested, and took fort Beau Sejour, after a hot siege of four days, and its name was changed to fort Cumberland. Monckton, proceeding further into the country, took the other French forts, disarmed the inhabitants, and to prevent them from joining the French in Canada, expelled them from the province, and dispersed them throughout the colonies! This was a dreadful fate: to become roving vagabonds in the enemy's country, where a different language was spoken from their own, rendering them unable to engage in any business to advantage, while the strong prejudices of all around them made their situation peculiarly distressing. A boundary, however, between the English and the French possessions in Nova Scotia, which had occasioned many disputes, was by this means quickly and permanently settled, and the British were possessed of the whole of Nova Scotia, according to their own definition of its boundaries.

As soon as the convention of governors was dissolved, General Braddock commenced his march from Virginia, in June, with his two British regiments of infantry and a few corps of provincial militia, amounting in all to 2200 men.

On his arrival at fort Cumberland, in the western part of Virginia, the army was detained, waiting for some of the wagons, horses, and provisions.

The French were yet weak on the Ohio, but they daily expected reinforcements. It was determined, therefore, that 1200 of the best soldiers should be selected, and ten pieces of cannon; and this force, commanded by Braddock in person, was to advance with the utmost expedition to fort Du Quesne. Colonel Dunbar and Major Chapman, with the remainder of the troops, and the heavy baggage, to follow more slowly.

The select troops, though their carriages and ammunition wagons were strongly horsed, did not make the rapid progress that was anticipated, for, said Colonel Washington, in a letter written during the march, to his brother, "I found that instead of pushing on with vigour, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole-hill, and to erect bridges over every brook." At the end of four days they were only nineteen miles from the Little Meadows, where they had separated from the remainder of the army.

On the 8th of July, Braddock reached the Monongahela, being then about sixty miles in advance of Colonel Dunbar, and about twelve from fort Du Quesne. He had been advised to proceed with caution, to guard against ambushes, before he came to this country, and his officers now reasoned with him again. Washington, one of his aids, particularly represented to him what kind of enemy he had to deal with; that, instead of coming forward to a fair contest, they would conceal themselves behind rocks and trees, from which they could fire with their rifles in comparative safety. He concluded by offering to place himself at the head of the Virginia riflemen, to be prepared to fight the enemy in their own way if necessary, or at least, by scouring the woods, guard the army against surprise. Haughty and self-confident, Braddock treated this salutary advice with contempt; cursed the young "*buckskin*" who would presume to teach a British officer how to fight, and ordered him and his soldiers to the rear of the British troops.

The conduct of Braddock resembled the recklessness of the madman, rather than that of a man of genuine courage.

On the 9th day of July, when about seven miles from the fort, he was suddenly attacked by a body of French and Indians, estimated at about 900.

The appalling war-whoop of the savages is now heard through the woods; the messengers of death come in showers upon the British; the van-guard falls back upon the main army; the troops are ordered to form and advance in columns through the woods! Again the enemy pour upon them a deadly and incessant fire from their hiding-places, secure from danger themselves. Officers and men are falling rapidly into the embraces of death, and the whole body is thrown into the utmost confusion. They are *formed* again by the obstinate commander, as if he desired them to become a more certain mark for a concealed foe. He sees his men fall in scores without the ability to defend themselves, or the most remote probability of future success in such a position; and yet, he compels them to stand as targets for the enemy, for a period of three hours, during which about 700 of the British were killed or wounded; when his madness terminated in his own fall, after five horses had been shot under him. The officers mounted on horseback were sure marks for the enemy, and *out of sixty-five, all were shot down except one*, and that was *George Washington*. Two horses were killed under him, and four bullet-holes *ornamented* his military coat.

"The foe came on, and few remain
To strive, and those must strive in vain:
For lack of further lives, to slake
The thirst of vengeance now awake,
With barbarous blows they gash the dead,
And lop th' already lifeless head."

After the fall of Braddock the remains of the army fled in disorder, and Washington, with his provincials, who had been held in such contempt before the battle, *covered their retreat*, and saved them from destruction.

"I expected every moment," says an eye-witness, "to see Washington fall:" as his duty as aid exposed him to the most

imminent danger during the engagement, and when left alone, he appeared to offer himself a willing sacrifice for the ill-fated fugitives.

An old Indian marksman swore that Washington was not born to be shot, "for," said he, "I had seventeen fair fires at him with my rifle, and after all I could not bring him to the ground."

In a sermon preached after Braddock's defeat, by the Rev. M. Davis, the following remarkable sentence occurs: "I beg leave to point the attention of the public to that heroic youth, Colonel George Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has preserved *for some great service to this country.*"

The flight of the British was precipitate. No pause was made until they met Dunbar's division, where Braddock, carried thither by Washington, died of his wounds. Here Dunbar's troops took the panic by contagion, and all fled to fort Cumberland, about one hundred and thirty miles from the field of death. In this situation their services might have been of great importance in defending the frontier, had they remained; but trembling both at heart and knees, they ran, they flew to Philadelphia, under Colonel Dunbar. Having satisfied themselves that the enemy were not close to their heels, they resolved upon taking up their *winter-quarters.* It is true this was in *August*, but the Colonel, no doubt, considerably chilled by the late disaster, probably anticipated a very early winter. Washington, in speaking of the flight of the British troops, says, "In spite of every effort to the contrary, they broke, and ran as sheep before the hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and in short every thing, a prey to the enemy; and when we endeavoured to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground, and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains."

In the following lines Hesper shows the future to Columbus:

"And now a friendly host from Albion's strand
Arrives to aid her young colonial band.
They join their force, and toward the falling day
Impetuous Braddock leads their hasty way;

O'er Alleghany heights, like streams of fire,
The red flags wave, and glittering arms aspire
To meet the savage hordes who there advance
Their skulking files to join the arms of France.

Where, old as earth, yet still unstain'd with blood,
Monongahela roll'd his careless flood,
Flank'd with his mantling groves the fountful hills
Drain'd the vast region through his thousand rills,
Lured o'er his lawns the buffalo herds, and spread
For all his fowls his piscatory glade;
But now perceives, with hostile flags unfurl'd,
A Gallic fortress awe the western world;
There Braddock bends his march; the troops within
Behold their danger and the fire begin;
Forth bursting from the gates they rush amain,
Front, flank, and charge the fast approaching train;
The batteries blaze, the leaden volleys pour,
The vales, the streams, the solid mountains roar;
Clouds of convolving smoke the welkin spread,
The champaign shrouding in sulphureous shade.
Lost in the rocking thunder's loud career,
No shouts nor groans invade the patriarch's ear;
Nor valorous feats are seen, nor flight nor fall,
But one broad burst of darkness buries all,
Till, chased by rising winds, the smoke withdrew,
And the wide slaughter opened on his view.
He saw the British leader borne afar,
In dust and gore, beyond the wings of war;
And while delirious panic seized his host,
Their flags, their arms in wild confusion toss'd,
Bold in the midst a youthful warrior strode,
And tower'd undaunted o'er the field of blood;
He checks the shameful rout, with vengeance burns,
And the pale Britons brighten where he turns.
So, when thick vapours veil the nightly sky,
The starry hosts in half-seen lustre fly,
Till Phosphor rises o'er the twinkling crowd,
And gives new splendour through his parting cloud.

Swift on a fiery steed the stripling rose,
Form'd the light files to pierce the line of foes,
Then waved his gleamy sword that flash'd the day,
And through the Gallic legions hew'd his way:
His troops press forward like a loose broke flood,
Sweep ranks away and smear their paths in blood;

The hovering foes pursue the combat far,
And shower their balls along the flying war,
When the new leader turns his single force,
Points the flight forward, speeds his backward course:
The French, recoiling, half their victory yield,
And the glad Britons quit the fatal field."

Thus terminated one of the most disastrous campaigns on the records of history, not only from its immediate consequences, but, by inflaming the passions of a rapacious and vindictive foe, with a victory too easily won, and extensive plunder too readily obtained, they afterwards spread terror, dismay, and death over the unprotected colonies, Virginia and Pennsylvania, accompanied by acts of cruelty, outrage, and fiendish torture, that shock our nature and wound our moral dignity, to think that man should ever fall so low.

On the frontier, the French and Indians murdered and captured men, women and children, burning their houses and destroying their crops, until the settlements, in some districts, were entirely broken up. Those who escaped from the barbarous foe, instead of attempting to defend themselves, fled into the lower country, spreading big-eyed alarm, open-mouthed terror, and magnified dangers in their progress.

Washington, at this critical period, was called upon to defend the frontier; but owing to the want of energy and vigour in the proceedings of the assembly of Virginia, and the universal panic among the people, the means under his control were totally inadequate to the task. He represented to the assembly, that to cover so extensive a frontier, it would be necessary to increase the number of regulars to two thousand men. He, however, preferred another plan, which was to obtain artillery and engineers, or assistance from the mother country, or the other colonies, to drive the enemy from fort Du Quesne.

When the enemy had glutted their vengeance, they recrossed the Alleghany mountains, from which they returned the following April (1756), to renew their depredations and murders, in small skulking parties, who could seldom be found until some horrid deed was committed. This fully demon-

strated the superiority of Washington's plan of raising a force sufficient to strike a blow at the heart of the enemy, by attacking their fort, instead of attempting to scratch or bite his extremities.

In speaking of the dreadful calamities among the western inhabitants, Washington, in a letter to the lieutenant-governor, says; "I see their situation, I know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants now in forts must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuses cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting on me in particular, for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kind, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining reputation in the service, cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command from which I never expect to reap either honour or benefit, but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here.

"The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

We will now turn away from this melancholy scene before our faces become too much elongated, and inquire after Governor Shirley's expedition against the forts Niagara and Frontinac, and General William Johnson's against Crown Point.

And now, ye shades of the illustrious dead, who have wielded the style or the pen in commemoration of the deeds

of heroes, grant us your liberality if we fail to record the wonderful deeds of his excellency with that dignity which this august subject demands, and that philosophy to which so prolific a lesson should never fail to direct us! The magnificent conceptions of Homer; the refined majesty of Virgil; the sweetness and elegance of Horace; the bold and sublime effusions of Milton; the graceful and easy style of Addison; the tenderness and sublimity of Ossian; and the natural elegance of Goldsmith, all combined, *might* do the subject justice! Now, reader, if you find fault with this string of notions on what you may consider too grave a subject, let me tell you, as a friend, before it is too late, that many a clever fellow has died of the *blues*, for the want of a little risibility under his waistcoat to shake them out at the sides. Cheer up, cheer up, there is no use to make too long a face; though we must confess, matters look rather gloomy just now; but go to work merrily (I mean reading, not fighting), instead of suffering half your energies to be cramped with awful forebodings and *poltic* nightmares. Remember that Hannibal's whole army laughed—officers and all—just before the battle of Cannæ, at a good-humoured remark of their chief, and the result of that battle is well known. When Alexander besieged Nyssa, the Macedonians would not advance on account of the depth of the river, until their leader said, "What a wretch am I that I did not learn to swim," and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. The effect was electrical, and this *laughing* army, after making one assault, obtained offers of capitulation. When the fate of the American army seemed to depend upon making a retreat from the encampment at Trenton, Washington laughed at an odd remark of old General Scott, who was about to defend the most important and dangerous post. Scott, who thought Washington was gone, said to his men, that they had been shooting too high. "For that reason, boys, whenever you see them fellows first begin to put their feet on this bridge, *do you shin 'em.*" The bridge was defended, and the army preserved. There are two morals in this digression. The first is, always keep yourself in a good humour by trying to keep others so. The

second is, that warriors engaged in a good cause, at least, should always be in good spirits; and why should not we enjoy that *luxury* while recording, or reflecting on *some* of the deeds, at least, of these brave and merry fellows? But to resume.

The Governor's Campaign.—Deeply impressed with his awful responsibility, he marched his army of 2500 men to Oswego, on Lake Ontario; but the winter being too far advanced, and the provisions scarce, he marched them back again to Albany, and the succeeding spring he was superseded by General Abercrombie, who was appointed to command until the arrival of Loudon. This was the beginning, middle, and end of Governor Shirley's campaign. We do not intend to reflect on the conduct of his excellency: prudence may have been the better part of valour under existing circumstances, especially as the intelligence of Braddock's defeat had spread consternation through the army, occasioning many desertions.

This teaches, or ought to teach, an important lesson to those officers who esteem daring intrepidity more, when alone, than if tempered with prudence. Not only did Braddock lose his own army, but damped the spirit of enterprise, for a time, throughout the colonies. History, both ancient and modern, is full of such lessons. Compare the cool, calculating prudence of Fabius Maximus and George Washington, with the headlong impetuosity of C. Terentius Varro and Braddock, and our position is sufficiently illustrated.

The expedition against Crown Point, led by General William Johnson, arrived at the south end of Lake George the latter part of August, 1755, where he received intelligence that the enemy, numbering 2000, had landed at Southbay, now Whitehall, under the command of Baron Dieskau, from whence they were marching to fort Edward, to destroy the military stores and provisions of the British.

On the morning of September 8th, a detachment of 1200 men, commanded by Colonel Ephraim Williams, was sent against him. Regardless of the advice of Hendrick, the Indian chief, Williams neglected to scour the field by a flank-guard.

Having proceeded about four miles, he was surprised by the Indians of Dieskau's army, who were lying in ambush for him. A deadly fire was poured in upon both his flanks. After a dreadful slaughter, during which General Williams himself, and Hendrick, the renowned Mohawk chief, were killed, the detachment retreated. They came running into the camp like a flock of sheep, hotly pursued by the French, who might have carried the camp if they had taken advantage of the great confusion; but making a pause, the English recovered from the disorder and alarm, and were soon prepared to receive the enemy. Dieskau now made a desperate attack, but the English, who were posted behind fallen trees, defended on each side by a woody swamp, gave them such a warm reception, with their cannon and musketry, that their ranks were thrown into disorder. The Canadian militia and Indians fled into the woods, and the whole army was terribly defeated. A scouting party had, at the same time, taken the enemy's baggage; and when the retreating army came up, they made an attack upon it from behind the trees. Panic-stricken by the late defeat and this sudden attack, the soldiers threw down their accoutrements, and were off for the lakes in the utmost confusion.

The French loss, in killed and wounded, was about 1000. Dieskau himself was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. He had received a wound in the leg, which rendering him incapable to retreat with the army, he was found by an English soldier seated on a stump. Intending to try bribery to save his life, he commenced feeling for his watch, but the soldier mistaking his intention, and suspecting that he was searching for his pistol, levelled his gun and shot the Baron through the hips. He was now carried to the English camp, where every attention was bestowed upon him. He was next taken to Albany and New York. The injury gradually impaired his health, and he died in consequence of it, at Surene, in France. He was a man of talents, honour, and refinement, and the loss of so distinguished an officer was severely felt by the French. The English loss was only about 200.

General Johnson was wounded early in the action, and General Lyman did the fighting, for which Johnson, who makes no mention of him, received a baronetcy, and Parliament voted him 5000 pounds sterling. Satisfied with this achievement, he rested inactive the remainder of the season, and failed to effect the object of his expedition. This victory, however, retrieved the honour of the English arms, and restored confidence among the people. Thus terminated a campaign, which, for want of energy in council to devise, and vigour in the field to execute, effected nothing but a great destruction of life, and the infliction of all the accumulated horrors of savage and civilized warfare upon a bleeding community, and the two nations remained in statu quo ante bellum.

CHAPTER IV.

Formal Declaration of War between France and England—Meeting of Provincial Governors—Plan of Campaign—Quarrel among the Officers—Marquis de Montcalm takes and destroys Fort Oswego—Lord Loudon at the Head of Affairs.

Although hostilities had been carried on for several years, no formal declaration of war was made by England against France, until June 9, 1756. France declared war against England soon after.

The plan for the campaign of 1756 was nearly the same as that for 1755; and the result was similar. The provincial governors met at New York, and it was determined that an army of 10,000 men should be raised, and marched against Crown Point; 6000 for Niagara; and 3000 for fort Du Quesne. While the officers were quarrelling among themselves about a resolution, placing the British officers over the provincials of the same rank; and about the expediency of attacking fort Niagara, or Du Quesne, the Marquis de Montcalm, the able and enterprising successor of Dieskau, decided the matter for them, by showing that they were to do neither. This officer, with an army of about 8000 regulars, Canadians

and Indians, invested the fort at Oswego, on the south side of Lake Ontario. His artillery played so successfully upon the fort, that in a few days it was taken and destroyed. This was one of the most important English posts held in America. The capture of it opened to the enemy both lake Erie and lake Ontario, together with the country of the Five Nations. 1600 men were taken prisoners; and 120 pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, several sloops of war, and 200 boats, fell into the hands of the victors.

The Earl of Loudon, now at the head of affairs in America, arrived at Albany and took his station. Receiving intelligence of the destruction of the fort at Oswego, he recalled General Winslow of Massachusetts, who was on his march towards Crown Point, and ordered him to fortify his own camp. All offensive operations being relinquished, the garrisons were filled with British troops, and nearly all the provincial forces were sent home. Here ends the second lesson to the British Parliament. The expedition against Niagara was not commenced, and that against Du Quesne almost forgotten. Whether Lord Loudon was governed in his decisions, or rather indecisions, by dreams and omens, by whim and caprice; or by taking the advice of every body, in regular order; he was certainly not the man to cope with Montcalm.

CHAPTER V.

Council at Boston—Efforts of the British Parliament—Expedition against Louisburg—Siege of Fort William Henry—Horrible Massacre by the Savages—Burning of the Fort.

At the commencement of 1757 a council was held at Boston, composed of Lord Loudon and the governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia. Here his lordship proposed that New England should raise 4000 men, and New York and New Jersey should raise a proportionate number. In the meantime, the British Parliament had made preparation to prosecute the war. In July, 1757, about 6000 troops arrived at Halifax, on their way to effect the reduction of

Louisburg, (at least, they thought so,) on the island of Cape Breton. The colonists had raised troops destined for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but they now learned, to their astonishment and regret, that their Protean commander-in-chief had changed his mind, and that now, the reduction of Louisburg was the one grand object in contemplation. The colonists were obliged to obey, and Loudon proceeded to join the British armament at Halifax.

His lordship appears to have been one of those unlucky fellows who are always *just* in time to be too late. The French received very large reinforcements, both of land and naval forces, from France, before Loudon was ready to sail, and deeming it rather a dangerous experiment to proceed, he abandoned the expedition and returned to New York.

During the absence of the principal part of the British army, the Marquis de Montcalm conceived the design of taking the forts on lake George. He advanced with an army of about 9000 men, and laid siege to fort William Henry, situated on the north side of the lake. The garrison consisted of 3000 men, under the command of Colonel Monro, who made a most gallant resistance for six days, keeping the enemy at bay, while he sent to General Webb, apprising him of his situation, and asking his aid. Webb was at fort Edward, only four miles distant, with an army of 4000 men. Whether the General thought of the *lead colic*, or had a peculiar aversion to villanous saltpetre, (for men *do* sometimes get an unaccountable and peculiar aversion to being shot,) or whether he was governed in his conduct by motives of a prudential character, is worthy our consideration. It is certain, his aid was withheld without any apparent excuse for his heartless indifference to the perilous situation of his brethren in arms, who were obliged to surrender. They claimed and obtained at least the promise of an honourable capitulation, and a pledge of protection from Montcalm, against the Indians under his command. But no sooner had they marched out of the fort and deposited their arms, than the Indians were permitted to enter their lines, to commence the work of plunder, cruelty and death.

The defenceless soldiers were attacked with fiendish fury by the savages, who, while butchering and scalping their victims, seemed to delight in their yells and groans, and frantic shrieks of anguish and despair. This horrid scene continued until 1500 were killed or carried captives into the wilderness. This has fixed a dark spot upon the character of Montcalm, which will always haunt the history of his achievements like some hideous monster, grinning awfully over a victory of the heart of the valiant. Attempts have been made to wipe away the curse, but every age and country, like an immense jury, will try and condemn his conduct again. It has been said that he could not restrain the ferocity of the savages; but could he not make the attempt? Could not 7000 men restrain 2000? Could not Montcalm *provide the stipulated guard* which Monro begged and implored him in vain to do, to save his brave companions? With these facts before us, we will not, we cannot listen to the sophistical arguments of the defenders of guilt.

Now draw the curtain aside and look for yourself at a scene that makes humanity bleed at every pore. It is the fort and its vicinity the day after the massacre. The fort is a heap of smoking ruins; the buildings are still burning; here are arms, hands, and many other fragments of the human body *broiling in the fire!* there are heaps of dead bodies all around you with the scalps torn off. But now think of the deep horrors and voiceless woe of those who are tortured in captivity! Imagine among them a father, a brother, or a friend. Imagine *yourself* a victim of torture, and then I ask you what think you of Montcalm? What think you of Webb? Would you be leaning to the side of mercy by shielding them from indignation and scorn? Or would you rather defend the officers than the soldiers? The common soldier has rights as well as his superiors. He has a heart to feel, a hand to strike, and an arm to save. His influence, his power, in the aggregate, *must* be respected, and we *will* defend his rights against his superiors, whether friend or foe.

While we are determined to guard with the most scrupulous care against wronging the memory of any man, we shall

freely express our uncompromising detestation against the heartless deeds of such fiends incarnate, instead of extenuating their guilt, as some historians have done.

History is the monitor of the future, teaching by the experience of the past faithfully delineated; but if the inexcusable wholesale murders and unjustifiable barbarities, or even the cowardice or cold indifference of men to aid those they are bound by sacred duty, or solemn contract, to protect, are to be blotted from its pages, it fails in its legitimate object. The wretch who could look calmly on such a scene without lifting a hand to save, should be held in greater abhorrence than the midnight assassin. We are sometimes moved to tears at the recital of a single murder, but we too often read an account of the destruction of thousands, as a pleasing tale. We sympathize with the sufferings of individuals, but lose our better feelings in a multitude of sufferers. Through this strange inconsistency of our nature, the guilty often escape, or get only one blow when their guilt calls for ten.

After the destruction of fort William Henry, the French had possession of lakes George and Champlain, and an uninterrupted communication between Canada and the mouth of the Mississippi. This gave them an ascendancy over the Indians, and an undisturbed control over the country west of the Alleghany mountains, while the colonists were exposed, along the whole northern and western frontier, to the outrages of the various tribes of Indians.

"Through harvest fields the bloody myriads tread,
Sack the lone village, strew the streets with dead;
The flames in spiry volumes round them rise,
And shrieks and shouts redoubling rend the skies.
Fair babes and matrons in their domes expire,
Or, bursting frantic through the folding fire,
They scream, fly, fall; promiscuous rave along
The yelling victors and the driven throng;
The streams run purple; all the peopled shore
Is wrapp'd in flames and trod with steps of gore;—
Till colours, gathering from the shorelands far,
Stretch their new standards and oppose the war,
With muskets match the many-shafted bow,
With loud artillery stun th' astonish'd foe.

When, like a broken wave, the barbarous train
Lead back the flight and scatter from the plain,
Slay their weak captives, drop their shafts in haste,
Forget their spoils and scour the trackless waste;
From wood to wood in wild confusion hurl'd,
They hurry o'er the hills far through the savage world."

CHAPTER VI.

Change of the British Ministry—Pitt at the Head of the new Council—His Popularity—Its Effect—Plan of Campaign—Admiral Boscawen sails from Halifax, under Brigadier-General Amherst—Siege of Louisburg—Plan against Ticonderoga and Crown Point under General Abercrombie—Lake George—Unsuccessful Attack on Ticonderoga—Abercrombie retreats—Dissatisfaction of the Provincials—Bradstreet takes Frontignac—General Forbes takes Fort Du Quesne.

On the Termination of the last Campaign.

On the infliction of this last, unkindest kick of all, the English lion started up with a roar. The English on both sides of the ocean were alarmed, and justly too, at their situation, and indignant at the loss of their brethren. The king changed his ministry, and placed the celebrated William Pitt at the head of the new councils.

As a multitude of merry souls dance and skip under the magic influence of a violin, so a great statesman can often stir up and move a whole nation. Pitt speaks, and the thunder of his eloquence arouses to arms; the huge leviathans of war overshadow the sea. Armies move with the vigour of magic; transcendant talent is displayed in the field, and victory shouts exultingly over the mighty results. The ill-contrived and badly executed campaigns were now at an end; the tide of fortune, which had flowed to the French, loaded with riches, commenced its ebb with surprising rapidity; the spirits of the colonists were revived; the requisitions for raising a very large number of troops were promptly and cheerfully complied with; and all was bustle and activity, inspired by the soul of Pitt. We pause here with astonishment, to contemplate the majesty of *mind*. That one man should be able to effect such changes and in-

fuse such light into the dark and gloomy minds and hearts of men far beyond the sea; to convey to others a part of his own immortal energies; to speak with his own deeply-moved soul so strongly, that nations shake and monarchs tremble in their capitols, seems almost miraculous.

Equally popular in both hemispheres, his letters to the colonial governors, assuring them of a large force from England, and calling on them for aid, probably far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. In May, Massachusetts had 7000 troops, Connecticut 5000, and Hampshire 3000. Massachusetts took the lead. The people of Boston supported taxes which took away two-thirds of the income on real estate: one-half of the effective men in the province were on some military duty; and the transports constructed to carry the troops to Halifax were ready to sail, in fourteen days from the time of the undertaking. The British fleets blockaded or captured the French armaments, cutting off their reinforcements, while Admiral Boscawen was despatched to Halifax with a formidable squadron of ships, and an army of about 12,000 men. Lord Loudon was superseded by General Abercrombie, who was now placed at the head of an army of 50,000 men, the largest army that ever, in its march, shook the earth in America.

It was resolved that three points of attack should be the objects of this campaign. The first expedition was to be directed against Louisburg, the capitol of Cape Breton; the second against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third against fort Du Quesne.

On the 28th of May, Admiral Boscawen sailed from Halifax with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, and 14,000 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Amherst, and arrived before Louisburg on the 2d of June. The Chevalier de Drucourt, a man of many parts, commanded the garrison, composed of 2500 regulars and 600 militia. The French having secured the harbour with ships, some of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, the English were obliged to land at some distance from the town. As the surf was so great that no boat could live near shore,

a landing could not be effected for six days. On the 8th, while the swell was still very great, they approached the shore under the fire of five frigates. The enemy on shore reserved their fire until the English were near them, when their musketry and cannon were opened upon them with great spirit. Some of their boats were upset, others dashed into fragments without much regard for the contents; but General James Wolfe, afterwards the hero of the heights of Abraham, was there, and he pushed forward to the shore. Amherst was the shield and Wolfe the sword—the one cautious, the other young and enthusiastic. The artillery and stores were dragged on shore June 8th, and General Wolfe, next in command to General Amherst, was detached with 2000 men to take a post at Lighthouse Point, an eminence which in a measure commands the ships in the harbour and the fortifications in the town, and from which the enemy might be greatly annoyed. The enemy had five ships of the line and a few frigates in the harbour, and as the English troops approached, the guns on these vessels were brought to bear upon them. On the approach of Wolfe towards Lighthouse Point, the French who occupied that post

> ——"*retreated*, as the phrase is, when
> Men run away rather than go through
> Destruction's jaws."

We presume, however, that these men

> ——"never ran away, except when running
> Was nothing but a *valorous* kind of cunning."

This we leave with their own *conscience*, which is nothing but our own opinion of our own actions, which shows the importance of good instructions, when the mental twig is bent.

This fighting is a bloody business, at best, and we would rather continue to moralize, than besiege cities and towns in *person*. Even when the *imagination* leads us to the fortifications of the enemy, the unmusical roar of artillery and musketry; the fire and smoke on the ramparts and from the embrasures, and the shrieks and groans of our wounded and

dying fellow-soldiers, but ill comport with our notions of a long life of domestic joys and comforts.

But, I say, Wolfe took the post, and erected several strong batteries, while approaches were made on the opposite side of the town, and the siege was commenced in earnest.

A very heavy fire is opened and kept up against the town and the ships in the harbour. With the flashing fire comes the report of artillery, like peals of thunder. The earth trembles, and some of the men tremble; some with anxiety, some with rage, and some with fear. The bombs, like meteors, are vaulting through the sky, then falling to the earth, or on the ships, with terrible explosion, hurl their fragments through the ranks of the enemy with appalling effect; then communicating their fire to a vessel, the flames spread with fearful rapidity, and the prodigious conflagration drives the soldiers away like rats escaping from a falling temple. The fire reaches the magazine! A blaze as from a volcano bursts forth, and then the shock of the dreadful explosion terrifies the besiegers and the besieged. Masts and yards are hurled through the sky, and after a long interval fall in fragments over the earth and sea. The fire is communicated, and two other ships share the same fate. The siege progresses; some parts of the town are already consumed, and some others battered down. The English Admiral sent 600 men under two young captains, Laforey and Balfour, into the harbour, to destroy or bring off the remaining ships. In the night, between the 25th and 26th, they passed through a galling fire of cannon and musketry of the enemy, and took the remaining ships. One being aground, was burnt, and the other was triumphantly towed out of the basin. This put the English in full possession of the harbour; and several breaches having been made in the enemy's works, the governor, deeming the place no longer tenable, offered to capitulate.

The garrison were required to surrender as prisoners of war, and although these humiliating terms were at first rejected, they were afterwards, from necessity, acceded to. The spoils of victory were 221 pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, with large quantities of ammunition. The English

now took possession of Cape Breton, and also the Island Royal, St. John's, and their dependencies. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were taken to France in English ships; but the military men, consisting of the garrison, sea-officers, sailors, and marines, amounting to about 6000, were taken prisoners of war to England. This was the severest blow that France received since the commencement of the war, as it placed the whole coast, from the St. Lawrence to Nova Scotia, in the possession of the English, and in a great measure cut off the French communication with Canada.

The army destined to execute the plan against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, commanded by General Abercrombie, consisting of upwards of 15,000 men, with a formidable train of artillery, was to rendezvous at Albany. The reduction of these points was a favourite object of the northern colonies, exposed to French and Indian incursions; and the most herculean exertions were made to insure its success. About two-thirds of this army were colonists. In the beginning of July they arrived at Lake George, and on the 5th the General was ready to embark his troops on board of 900 batteaux and 125 whale-boats, besides a number of rafts, on which cannon were mounted, to cover the landing of the troops.

And now, reader, if you have no imagination we pity you, for then all such recitals will have no more effect on you than if you were told that 15,000 blackbirds crossed the lake, all in one flock. But, no doubt, you have a most vivid imagination, by which you now plainly see the remarkable clear water of this truly romantic lake; the bold and jutting shore; and the beautiful, small green islands, full of wild flowers to the edge of the water, looking, for all the world, like little hills *swimming* across the lake with a load of flowers on their backs. The deer stand high up on the projecting rock, and look down with amazement on the extended crowd, then bound away into the thick woods. The brave eagle, the bird of Washington, not quite ready to *perch* on the American standards, soars majestically in the blue vault of heaven; then rushing down, bathes his glossy wings in the trembling waters of the lake. A late and eminent writer, in speaking

of this lake, says that "light and shade are here not only far more diversified, but are much more obvious, intense, and flowing, than in smooth, open countries. Every thing, whether on the land or water, was here affected by the changes of the day; and the eye, without forecast, found itself, however disposed on ordinary occasions to inattention, instinctively engaged, and fastened with emotions approximating to rapture. The shadows of the mountains, particularly on the west, floating slowly over the bosom of the lake, and then softly ascending that of the mountains on the east, presented to us, in a wide expanse, the uncommon and most pleasing image of one vast range of mountains, slowly moving up the ascent of another.

"While we were returning from Ticonderoga, we were presented with a prospect superior to any which I ever beheld. An opening lay before us, between the mountains on the west and those on the east, gilded by the departing sunbeams. The lake, alternately glassy and gently rippled, of a light and exquisite sapphire, gay and brilliant with the tremulous lustre, already mentioned, floating upon its surface, stretched in prospect to a vast distance, through a great variety of larger and smaller apertures. In the chasm, formed by the mountains, lay a multitude of islands, differing in size, shape, and umbrage, and clothed in deeply shaded green. Beyond them, and often partly hidden behind the tall and variously figured trees, with which they were tufted, rose, in the west and south-west, a long range of distant mountains, tinged with a deep misty azure, and crowned with an immense succession of lofty pines. Above the mountains, and above each other, were extended, in great numbers, long, streaming clouds, of the happiest forms, and painted with red and orange light, in all their diversities of tincture."

Thus, while the army was embarking, we had time to make a little excursion along the lake. Every man knows that it takes some time before the last of 15,000 soldiers could get his foot into a boat. But now they go, and early next morning they landed on the west side of the lake, and commenced their march in four columns; the British in the centre, and

the provincials on the flank. The advanced guard of the French, posted on the lake in a logged camp, quickly destroyed all they could and made a hasty retreat; and when the English arrived the nest was warm, but the birds had all flown. In marching through the woods, the guides being unskilful, the columns were thrown into confusion and entangled with each other, when the right centre column fell in with some of the enemy's advanced guards, who had lost themselves in the woods on their precipitate retreat from the lake. They made a furious attack upon each other, in which the French were defeated with a loss of about 300 killed and wounded, and 148 taken prisoners. On the first fire Lord George Howe was killed, an officer who was esteemed above all the other British officers, and to his loss the provincials attributed their subsequent defeat.

The English army now encamped at the Saw-Mills, only two miles from Ticonderoga. In advance of the fort, garrisoned with the usual number of men, the enemy had about 5000 men posted behind a strong breastwork, eight or nine feet high; and in front of this a number of felled trees, with their sharpened branches projecting outward, gave great additional strength to the works.

General Abercrombie sent forward an engineer to reconnoitre the ground; but whether he examined the enemy's works with great care or great *caution*, (mark the difference,) or whether he kept at a very respectable distance from the enemy, not wishing to *intrude*; or taking it for granted that so large an army would certainly take the fort, and thus sustain his report and his reputation, we will not undertake to decide. He made a favourable report, however, stating that the works were imperfect and consequently practicable. Upon this the General resolved upon a storm, and accordingly made preparations for an assault. The storm soon blew the wrong way. The troops were ordered to rush forward, reserving their own fire till they had passed a breastwork; but owing to the felled trees, and the height of the works, this was absolutely impracticable, especially without bringing up the artillery. Besides, the English attempting to attack but

a small portion of the extended French lines, and that upon the strongest and most inaccessible, the enemy poured their whole fire upon that spot; while the English gained no advantage by numbers. After keeping these brave fellows for four hours in a situation where they were exposed to an incessant and most galling fire, without the least prospect of accomplishing any thing at that point, without bringing forward his artillery or changing his plan, the General not only ordered a retreat, but ran away with his indignant army from a comparatively small force, as if afraid of him who proverbially takes the hindmost, and re-crossed Lake George with a loss of 2000 men, in killed and wounded. This gained the General the unenviable name of *Mrs. Nabbycrombie* among the provincials.

It might here be remarked, that Major Rogers, an able and experienced officer in Indian warfare, and an American by birth, offered to scour the woods and examine the condition of the enemy, but, of course, this was not granted by a British officer, and like his obdurate predecessors who took no advice, he met with defeat. Braddock had his Washington, Williams had his Hendrick, and Abercrombie his Rogers. This period of our country's history would be much more interesting to Americans, had not the British officers always kept the merits of Americans a profound secret, or appropriated their exploits, if possible, to themselves.

This disastrous result of so great an expedition was felt by the British and Americans with peculiar severity, after the high expectations which they had naturally entertained under such promising circumstances.

While speaking of Pitt's promotion, we said that the unfortunate campaigns were at an end; and as this might be considered an exception, it may be remarked that this was only a *part* of the campaign.

After Abercrombie had abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga, Colonel Bradstreet proposed to finish the campaign with an expedition against Frontignac, a fort on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario. This wish was granted, and Bradstreet was

detached with 3000 men, eight pieces of cannon, and three mortars.

On the 25th of August, the Colonel landed within one mile of the fort. Not anticipating an attack at this point, the garrison consisted of only 110 men with a few Indians. The mortars were placed so near the fort, that every shell produced disastrous effects to the enemy, and in two days the fort was surrendered. The booty consisted of nine armed vessels, sixty cannon, sixteen mortars, and an immense quantity of ammunition, with a great number of *et ceteras*. This place had not only been the general repository for the western and southern posts, but the key to the communication between Canada and Louisiana. After destroying the fort, Bradstreet returned to the army from which he was detached.

The third point of attack in this campaign was the bulwark of the French dominion over the western regions, fort Du Quesne.

This enterprise was entrusted to General Forbes, who left Philadelphia in July, but did not arrive at Du Quesne till late in November. The army of Forbes amounted to 8000 men. The French garrison, deserted by the Indians, and too weak for effectual resistance, had escaped down the Ohio the evening before the arrival of the English, who immediately took possession of the fort, and changed its name to fort Pitt. The Indians, as usual, joined the stronger party, and all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes concluded a peace with the victors, relieving the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia from the murderous incursions of savages armed with tomahawk, with scalping-knife and with fire.

We find the following in the Military and Naval Magazine for 1835:

Pittsburg, the metropolis of domestic manufactures, although covered with clouds of smoke, from the operation of her thousand engines, is famed in the annals of history. If we resort to its pages, we find that here were erected forts Du Quesne, Pitt and Lafayette; the first by the French, and named after their illustrious admiral, Du Quesne; the second

by the British, called after the eloquent Pitt; and the latter built by the Americans, in honour of the friend and companion of Washington. In surveying the place where these fortifications once stood with their banners hoisted in triumph, we now see scarcely a trace to point the old soldier to the identical spot, and cannot help recalling to memory the bloody history of those perilous times, when the war-whoop and "qui vive" (who goes there) were the forerunners of almost certain destruction. Then, casting a glimpse at the busy multitude who are now engaged at their vocations, the most of whom, if not all, were unborn at the period of these trying hours, an involuntary emotion forces its way, and carries the mind to pierce the veil of futurity. In a century more, probably, the very ground will have assumed, in the hands of man, a different shape; and in vain will the geographer endeavour to compare the plot with its former designation, or to find the site of the old forts. The visiter, as he passes through on his going down the Ohio, will inquire for the remains of Du Quesne, when not a stone can be found to present to his mind the reality of the spot upon which the French garrison was erected. At present there is remaining a little mound, near the Alleghany river, which is acknowledged by some of the oldest inhabitants to be a part of the works; it stands as a monument of the first attempts at civilization, when

> Up the wild streams, that bound the hero's view,
> Great Gallia's sons their western course pursue.

But in the lapse of a few years even this last remembrance will have vanished away, and the site be entirely unobservable. Here once the brave subaltern, from whom the laurels were ungratefully snatched, drilled his little company to the "pas acceléré." Here the "portez arme," "garde à vous," and "en avant," were heard amidst the yells and songs of the tawny sons of the forest. Here the sanguinary battle where

> "——— hapless Braddock finds his destined fall,"

was conceived, matured, and undertaken. Here the victors returned, and entered the fort to the sound of the solitary

drum. But, with the remains of the castle, they have likewise disappeared, and probably there is not one living to tell the true story of so eventful a period. If the old commander of Du Quesne were now permitted to see the spot upon which stood the battlements of his former grandeur, what would be his astonishment! Instead of beholding the little fort, at the point or junction of the rivers, a portion of a city, opulent, and celebrated for her industry and manufacturing establishments, would present itself to his view.

So transient are the works of men, that threescore years and ten have sufficed to obliterate these national monuments of war; they are no more; they have fallen by the hands of time, and been demolished by the proprietors of the ground. The Frenchman, as he arrives from the land of his forefathers, where his infantine ears had heard the tales of the old American wars, is ready to inquire, as he accosts the stranger, "Where is fort Du Quesne?" He is answered, "It is gone." The son of Albion, in treading over the ground which formerly belonged to the subjects of King George, asks, "Where is fort Pitt?" the answer is, "It is demolished." And the American, whose breast swells at the sight of the ancient works of the pioneers of the west, inquires, "Where 's fort Lafayette?" and arrives just in time to see the old block-house torn down, and the last of the forts disappear.

CHAPTER VII.

Plan to conquer Canada—Pitt's Circular Letter—Plan of Campaign—General Amherst takes Ticonderoga and Crown Point—Prideaux sent against Niagara—His Death—Sir William Johnson successfully prosecutes his Predecessor's Plan—Expedition against Quebec under Wolfe—Several unsuccessful attempts—Climbs the Heights of Abraham—Defeats Montcalm—Death of Wolfe—Death of Montcalm—Capitulation of the Inhabitants of Quebec—Sufferings of a Captain and Ensign—French abandon Beaufort—Remains of the French Army retire to Montreal—M. de Levi attempts to recover Quebec—English Colonies raise more Men—Battle of Sillery—English defeated—M. de Levi besieges Quebec—Raises the Siege—Retreats to Montreal—French Governor makes his last Stand at Montreal—General Amherst appears—Governor capitulates—End of the War—Treaty.

Encouraged by the success of the last campaign, which, notwithstanding the defeat of Ticonderoga, was highly hon-

ourable to the English arms and attended with important results, it was resolved that the year 1759 should be signalized by the entire conquest of Canada, though the late effort had produced great exhaustion of provincial strength; and when Pitt's circular letter animated the colonists to attempt the most vigorous preparations for the great undertaking, they found that their resources were not commensurate with their good intentions.

Three armies, however, were raised to attack, at nearly the same time, the strongholds of the French in Canada: Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec.

The plan of the campaign was as follows: As soon as the St. Lawrence should be open in the spring, Brigadier-general Wolfe, escorted by a strong fleet, was to start from Louisburg, and lay siege to Quebec. Major-General Amherst, who had superseded Abercrombie, as commander-in-chief, with the main army, was to march by the way of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Richelieu river; descend the St. Lawrence, and form a junction with General Wolfe; while General Prideaux, with the third division, was to capture fort Niagara; sail thence for Montreal; and, after taking that place, join the grand army before Quebec.

General Amherst marched against Ticonderoga, which he reached on the 22d July. As the naval superiority of England prevented France sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were able to defend themselves. Ticonderoga soon surrendered; and Amherst, after strengthening this place, proceeded against Crown Point, of which he took undisputed possession, the enemy having abandoned it and fled before his arrival.

The second division of the army, destined against Niagara, was led on by General Prideaux, who, embarking at Oswego, early in July, soon after landed within a few miles of Niagara. As the French had Indian auxiliaries, and knew that they were not well calculated for sedentary warfare, it was determined to risk a general battle.

Four days before the battle, Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while directing the operations of the

siege, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson, who prosecuted with such vigour the plan of his predecessor, that the French, alarmed at the prospect of losing a post which constituted a key to their interior empire in America, made great efforts in collecting troops from the neighbouring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu' Ile. General Johnson, with his light infantry, some grenadiers and regular foot, placed between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress, with the auxiliary Indians on his flanks, awaited the approach of the enemy, who appeared on the morning of the 24th, charged with great impetuosity, were received with heroic firmness; and being deserted by their Indian allies, the French, in less than an hour, were completely routed, driven back to the fort, and obliged to capitulate.

The least promising, but the most daring and important expedition, was that against Quebec, the capital of Canada. Strong by nature, and much improved by art, it was the Gibraltar of America; and all attempts against it having failed hitherto, it seemed almost impregnable. The armed vessels, the floating batteries, the strong fortifications, the perpendicular bank, the strong forts, and a large army commanded by the formidable Marquis de Montcalm, would have made the idea of its capture appear perfectly chimerical to almost any one but such men as Pitt and Wolfe. The latter was young, of an ardent mind, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory. Pitt had discovered this in Wolfe's conduct at Louisburg, which induced him to appoint him to conduct this difficult expedition, and to give him for assistants, Brigadier-Generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, all like himself young and enthusiastic.

> "Wolfe, now detach'd and bent on bolder deeds,
> A sail-borne host up sea-like Lawrence leads,
> Stems the long lessening tide, till Abraham's height
> And famed Quebec rise frowning into sight."

Embarking at Louisburg, under convoy of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, he landed his whole army, consisting of 8000 men, on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec, near the last of June.

After several attempts to reduce the place, finding himself baffled and harassed, Wolfe seems to have resolved to finish the enterprise by a single bold and desperate effort.

Determined from the first to take the place, impregnable as it was accounted, the measures of General Wolfe were singularly bold, and apparently repugnant to all the maxims of war. His attention was first drawn to Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence; upon which, after taking possession of it, he erected batteries. By means of these he destroyed many houses, but from this point it was soon apparent that little impression could be made upon the fortifications of the town.

Finding it impracticable thus to accomplish his purpose, Wolfe next decided on more daring measures. For the purpose of drawing Montcalm to a general battle, Wolfe, with his troops, crossed the river Montmorenci, and attacked the enemy in their entrenchments. Owing, however, to the grounding of some of the boats which conveyed the troops, a part of the detachment did not land so soon as the others. The corps that first landed, without waiting to form, rushed forward impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments. But their courage proved their ruin. A close and well-directed fire from the enemy cut them down in great numbers.

Montcalm's party had now landed, and were drawn up on the beach in order. But it was near night, a thunder-storm was approaching, and the tide was rapidly setting in. Fearing the consequences of delay, Wolfe ordered a retreat across the Montmorenci, and returned to his quarters on the Isle of Orleans. In this rencontre his loss amounted to near 600 of the flower of his army.

The difficulties of effecting the conquest of Quebec now pressed upon Wolfe with all their force. But he knew the importance of taking this strongest hold—he knew the expectations of his countrymen—he well knew that no military conduct could shine that was not gilded with success.

Disappointed thus far, and worn down with fatigue and watchfulness, General Wolfe fell violently sick. Scarcely had he recovered, before he proceeded to put in execution a

plan which had been matured on his sick-bed. This was to proceed up the river, gain the heights of Abraham, and draw Montcalm to a general engagement.

Accordingly, the troops were transported up the river about nine miles. On the 12th of September, one hour after midnight, Wolfe and his troops left the ships, and in boats silently dropped down the current, intending to land a league above Cape Diamond, and there ascend the bank leading to the station he wished to gain. Owing, however, to the rapidity of the river, they fell below the intended place, and landed a mile, or a mile and a half above the city.

The operation was a critical one, as they had to navigate in silence, down a rapid stream, and to find a right place for landing, which, amidst surrounding darkness, might be easily mistaken. Besides this, the shore was shelving, and the bank so steep and lofty as scarcely to be ascended, even without opposition from an enemy. Indeed, the attempt was in the greatest danger of being defeated by an occurrence peculiarly interesting, as marking the very great delicacy of the transaction.

One of the French sentinels posted along the shore, as the English boats were descending, challenged them in the customary military language of the French. "*Qui vit?*" "who goes there?" To which, a captain in Frazer's regiment, who had served in Holland, and was familiar with the French language and customs, promptly replied, "*la France.*" The next question was still more embarrassing, for the sentinel demanded "*à quel regiment?*" "to what regiment?" The captain, who happened to know the name of a regiment which was up the river with Bougainville, promptly rejoined, "*de la Reine,*" "the Queen's." The soldier immediately replied, "*passé;*" for he concluded at once that this was a French convoy of provisions, which, as the English had learned from some deserters, was expected to pass down the river to Quebec. The other sentinels were deceived in a similar manner; but one, less credulous than the rest, running down to the water's edge, called out, "*Pour quois est ce que vous ne parlez plus haut?*" "Why don't you speak louder?" The

same captain, with perfect self-command, replied, "*Tais toi, nous serons entendus!*" "Hush, we shall be overheard and discovered!" The sentry, satisfied with this caution, retired, and the boats passed in safety.—*Silliman's Tour.*

"Swift bounding on the bank, the foe they claim,
Climb the tall mountain like a rolling flame,
Push wide their wings, high bannering bright the air,
And move to fight as comets cope in war."

The shelving beach, the high and precipitous bank, with only one narrow path by which it could be scaled, defended by a captain's guard and battery of four guns, were by no means very promising to their enterprise. But Wolfe probably now *thought*, as he before had *said*, that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," which of course signifies that it regards none. Colonel Howe led the van, clambered up the rocks, a distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, almost perpendicular ascent—drove away the guard, and took possession of the battery. The army landed about an hour before day, on the 13th of September, and at daybreak marshalled on the heights of Abraham.

Montcalm, who had deemed the ascending of the precipice an impossibility, could not at first credit the intelligence; but being convinced of its truth, he endeavoured to make the best of it by hasty preparations for a battle, which it was no longer possible to avoid. He left his camp at Montmorenci, crossed the river St. Charles, and advanced against the English army. Wolfe, on perceiving this movement, began to form his order of battle. The right wing of the English army was commanded by General Monckton; the left by General Murray. The Louisburg grenadiers covered the right flank, and Howe's infantry the rear and left; while Webb's regiment, separated by wide spaces into eight subdivisions, constituted the corps of reserve. The movements of the enemy indicating a design to outflank the left of the English army, General Townshend was ordered to double that part of the line with Amherst's battalion and the two battalions of Americans. The dispositions of the French general were equally ingenious. His right and left wings

were composed of about an equal number of European and American troops, while the centre consisted of a column formed by two battalions of regulars. The main body of the French was preceded by fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, who annoyed the English excessively by their fire from behind the bushes. The French had two field-pieces; the English one. Wolfe being on the right of his army and Montcalm on the left of the French, they were of course opposite each other. Montcalm led briskly to the charge.

Wolfe stands the representative of England; he thinks of Pitt; he thinks of his country; he *knows* that between a battle won and a battle lost there is an immense distance; that empires lie between them; that upon the present occasion this maxim will prove emphatically true, for he had staked all upon this hazardous adventure. The pride of his soul arises; *he* is to decide whether Canada is to be a French or a British colony—whether the colonies already in their possession shall be enjoyed peaceably or overrun by the French and Indians, and involved in irretrievable ruins. These were thoughts that rushed like a torrent over the young hero's soul and overwhelmed every consideration of personal safety. He was

> "———————— pure of mind,
> But formed to combat with his kind;
> Strong in *mind*, and of a mood
> Which 'gainst the world in war had stood,
> And perish'd in the foremost rank
> With joy."

There is active and passive courage; the former is a kind of desperation, often closely allied to cowardice; but the latter is that cool daring when men *stand* and look upon the approaching enemy, reserving their own fire. There is something sublime in this—at least when men are engaged in a just cause: it is the most dignified courage the warrior ever exhibits. It is the best manifestation of a *determined mind* which *conquers* the natural fear of death.

Between nine and ten o'clock, the two armies, about equal in number, met face to face. The English, who had been

ordered to reserve their fire, regardless of that of the detached body of Canadians and Indians, skulking about the woods, cornfields, and bushes, awaited the approach of the French army until they were within forty yards. Now

"Hark! peals the cannon's deafening knell,
Now bursts the closer combat's yell,
The sheathless falchion's glance:
While ranks that stand, o'er ranks that kneel,
Their devastating volleys deal;
And fast as bayonet or ball
Make breaches in the human wall,
T' avenge or share their comrades' fall,
The rearward files advance.

"The dust, by trampling thousands plough'd,
Fringing the battle's heaving cloud,
There is no breeze to rend:
But through the gloom each varied tone
Of slaughter's voice—the shout, the groan,—
The bugle's blast, the charging cheer,—
The mutual volley, sharp and clear,—
The shock of steel, the shriek of fear,—
In one mad chorus blend!"

When the English opened their general fire, they made terrible havoc among the French. Almost every shot took effect. The French fought bravely, but their ranks were soon thrown into disorder. The left and centre of the French began to waver and give way. Wolfe fell as he was pressing on at the head of his grenadiers, with fixed bayonets. Monckton, second in command, soon shared the same fate, and the command devolved on General Townshend. Montcalm received a mortal wound about the same time, while fighting in front of his battalions; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British grenadiers still pressed on with their fixed bayonets; General Murray by a brisk advance broke the centre of the French; the Highlanders drew their broadswords, increasing the confusion of the enemy, while Colonel Howe, who had stationed two companies behind a copse on the left, as the right wing of the French advanced against the English, rushed from his ambush, like

a mountain torrent upon the flank of the astonished foe and threw them into the utmost confusion; and having lost their first and second in command, the right and centre of the French were driven from the field, and the left were following, when Bougainville made his appearance in the rear with 1500 men who had been detached by Montcalm to watch the movements of the English after they had left their camp at the isle of Orleans. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him, but he faced to the right about, and made a most precipitate retreat, leaving the English undisputed masters of the field.

The loss of the French far exceeded that of the English: 1000 were killed, and 1000 taken prisoners. Their corps of regulars was almost entirely destroyed. The loss of the English in killed and wounded did not exceed 600. Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might be relieved by Bougainville, or from Montreal; but General Townshend finishing a road in the bank, to take up his heavy artillery, the inhabitants capitulated in five days after the battle, on condition that during the war they might still enjoy their own civil and religious rights. Murray was left with a garrison of 5000; and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

In addition to the above, we give a poetical description of this great enterprise, from the pen of a very able writer:

The moon had drawn her watchful eye
From Montmorency's silver wave,
And in their radiant homes on high,
Imprison'd by the curtain'd sky,
The stars, unseen, their splendour gave
And wild St. Lawrence' waters roll'd
More proudly 'neath the keels that bore
(At head of England's chosen hold)
One of the laurel-crown'd of war.

No martial notes from trump or horn
Were on the midnight breezes borne,
When with his fairy fleet of war
Sought France' dread foe her hostile shore;
No bugle-blast rang through the air,
Waved not St. George's banner there—

But swift and silent as the gale
That sped them, that flotilla frail
Went down the darken'd tide;
While on the leading prow, with eye
That told of hopes and projects high,
Stood Wolfe, in lonely pride.

Onward they sped—no sound was heard
Throughout that brave, devoted band,
Save the half-sigh'd, half-whisper'd word
That told their daring chief's command.
By the dark wave's phosphorent beam,
Who saw them as they onward flew,
Had thought he stood by Stygian stream,
And saw grim Charon's shadowy crew.

Nor guardless was Quebec's wide coast,
Nor slept they at their fearful post,
On Abraham's dizzy heights:
Yet was that shore by foemen won,
Nor peal'd there forth one signal gun,
Nor blazed the beacon-lights.

Envelop'd in night's rayless pall,
Frown'd fearfully the towering wall
Of Nature's fortress on that train;
That wall, that fortress, frown'd in vain:
Onward they came, as comes the storm
That gathers o'er the mountain's head,
When, cloud by cloud, its forces form
In one vast volume, dark and dread.

The sun, when last his evening light
Look'd down on Abraham's guarded height,
Saw only an unpeopled plain,
Where by his silent cannon stood
The sentinel in gloomy mood,
And from the cliff's bright summit view'd
His glowing splendour wane.

The sun returning found not there
That sentinel at his guarded post,
But saw, beneath the colours fair
That floated in the mountain air,
Old England's banner'd host,

In many a frowning squadron set,
Whose glittering steel and bayonet,
And sheathless swords, and armour bright,
Flash'd proudly back his beams of light.

Then o'er the morning air there broke
The 'larum cannon's lengthen'd roar;
Then spire to answering turret spoke,
And hush'd Quebec in terror woke,
To gird her for the coming war.

Blazed then her beacon-lights on high,
To warn Montcalm his foe was nigh;
Dash'd through her streets, with lightning speed,
The herald on his foaming steed;
And 'neath the bugle's echoing blast,
From camp and court, from hearth and hall,
Came plumed warriors fierce and fast,
Responsive to its rallying call.

Noon came not ere those armies met,
Where armies ne'er before had stood—
On plains which, unsanguined yet,
Should know too soon the hue of blood;
Whose sleeping echoes soon should swell
With sounds unecho'd there before,
And bear o'er many a distant dell
The victor's shout, the vanquish'd's knell,
And all the varied tones that tell
The presence of the demon War.

"Nature sleeps quiet on the verge
Of great convulsions"— and 't is said
A death-like silence is the dirge
That wails the coming earthquake's dead.
Such was the pause on Abraham's height,
While, in their dread array of might,
They wait the signal to advance;
Then rang the clarion wild and high,
And "Wolfe and England!" rent the sky,
And "Count Montcalm for France!"

As when, by counter-currents driven,
Fierce storm-clouds meet athwart the heaven,
And mingle into one;

While frequent flashes gild the air,
And the loud thunder rolls afar,
So was the fight begun.

Blaze followed blaze; roar answered roar;
And from St. Lawrence' farthest shore
Responsive echoes rung;
Bounded the frighted wild-deer by,
And from his eyrie lone and high
The startled eagle sprung.

Nor least amid the varied tones
Of charging shouts and dying groans,
The savage war-whoop rose:
While gliding forms like sprites were seen,
With painted face and earthless mien,
Mingling with England's foes.

And who is he, the youth whose plume
Waves foremost in the ranks of death;
Whose sword is shunn'd as surer doom
Than waits upon the Upas' breath?
From rank to rank, from post to post,
Through England's lines his steed is spurr'd,
And where the battle rages most,
Above its din his voice is heard.

'Tis Wolfe—nor scatheless has he pass'd
Amid the death-wing'd balls that fly
Like hail before the summer blast:
Alas! not all could pass him by.
Wounded and worn, he still commands—
Still urges on his wavering bands,
And shouts through their thinn'd ranks the cry,
"*Charge now for death or victory!*"

They charged—but though with fearful shock,
'Twas firmly met as firmly given;
So meets the frowning ocean rock
The riving thunderbolt of heaven.
They charged—but when the wheeling clouds
Reveal that fearful field again,
The eye that seeks amid those crowds
For valiant Wolfe, must seek in vain.

The centre of an anxious group,
Supported by his aids apart,

Now gradually his powers droop,
And steals the life-blood from his heart.
Still doth he watch with dauntless eye
The wavering fortunes of the field,
Anxious in death to hear the cry
Which tells him that the foemen yield.

That cry was heard—again—again
It thunder'd o'er the battle-plain:
"For Wolfe and England!" rang the cry,
While faithful echo answer'd still,
From rock to rock, from hill to hill;
So wildly rose those shouts and high,
It seem'd the very vault of Heaven
Had been by acclaiming voices riven.

New life a moment fill'd his frame,
And haply o'er his spirit came
Some sunny visions of his fame,
Gilding the clouds of death;
His eye unearthly language spoke,
One smile on his pale lips awoke,
And with his failing breath,
In whisper'd accents, he replied
To those victorious shouts—*and died!*

The death of Wolfe cast a gloom over the brilliant victory, and his fall was universally and deeply regretted in England and throughout the colonies.

In the beginning of the battle, he was wounded in the wrist by a musket ball; he wrapped his handkerchief round it, continued to give his orders with his usual calmness and perspicuity, and informed the soldiers that the advanced parties, on the front, had his orders to retire, and that they need not be surprised when it happened. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin, which he concealed, still pressing onward. Towards the end of the battle, which had lasted only about fifteen minutes, until the French began to give way, Wolfe received a new wound in the breast; he immediately retired behind the rear rank, supported by a grenadier, and laid himself down on the ground. Soon after, a shout was heard, and some of the officers who stood by him exclaimed, "See how they run!" The dying hero, raising

his head, asked, with some emotion, "Who run?" "The enemy," replied the officer; "they give way everywhere." The General then said, "Pray, do one of you run to Colonel Burton, and tell him to march Webb's regiment, with all speed, down to Charles river, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I shall die happy!" He then turned on his side, closed his eyes, and expired.

"This death," says Professor Silliman, "has furnished a grand and pathetic subject for the painter, the poet, and the historian; and, undoubtedly, considered as a specimen of *mere* military glory, it is one of the most sublime that the annals of war afford."

The death of Montcalm was equally heroic. Being told that his wound was mortal, and that he could survive but a few hours, he replied, "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The following account of the dangers and sufferings of two officers of the English army, during the battle, is given by Professor Silliman.

"Captain Ochterlony and Ensign Peyton belonged to the regiment of Brigadier-General Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty. Both were agreeable in person, and were connected together by the ties of mutual friendship and esteem. On the day that preceded the battle, the captain had fought with a German officer, in which, though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm, in consequence of which, his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action of next day; but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said that a scratch, received in a private rencontre, had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his service; and he took the field with a fusil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's entrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musket-ball, an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil, but he still

continued advancing, until, by loss of blood, he became too weak to proceed further. About the same time, Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his left leg. The soldiers, in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that Captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the ensign off the field. But he was so bigoted to a severe point of honour, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in such a situation, and, in a little time, they remained sole survivors on that part of the field.

"The captain sat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other; yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners; for the captain, seeing a French soldier, with two Indians, approach, started up, and accosting them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen.

"The two Indians seemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who, coming up to Mr. Peyton as he sat on the ground, snatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down, but the blow, missing his head, took place upon his shoulders. At the same instant, the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out: "Oh! Peyton! the villain has shot me." Not yet satiated with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him and stabbed him in the abdomen with his scalping-knife. The captain, having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him still alive, endeavoured to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees, struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a

double-barrelled musket in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead on the spot. The other, thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him, and Mr. Peyton, having taken good aim, at the distance of four yards discharged his piece a second time, but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his turn and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then rushing upon him, thrust his bayonet through his body; he repeated the blow, in attempting to parry which Mr. Peyton received another wound in his left hand; nevertheless, he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulled him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it in the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued; but at length Mr. Peyton was uppermost, and, with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity to know whether or not his shot had taken effect on the body of the Indian; he accordingly turned him up, and stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he started up on one leg, and saw the captain standing at the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breast-work, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud, "Captain, I am glad to see you have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear Captain. I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately." A number of these barbarians had for some time been employed on the left, in scalping and pillaging the dying and the dead that were left upon the field of battle; and above thirty of them were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for, should his life be spared for the present, they would have afterwards insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom he had slain; and in that case he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he snatched up his musket, and, notwithstanding

his broken leg, ran above forty yards without halting; and feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceeding one step further, he loaded his piece and presented it at the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof waiting to be joined by their fellows; while the French, from their breast-works, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small-arms upon this poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned, at a distance, a Highland officer with a party of his men skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand as a signal of distress, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was Captain Macdonald, of Colonel Frazer's battalion; who, understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himself at the head of his party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a considerable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped, carried him off in triumph.

"Poor Captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where, in a few days, he died of his wounds. After the reduction of that place, the French surgeons who attended him declared that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had he not been mortally wounded in the abdomen by the Indian's scalping-knife.

"As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies, General Townshend, in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen, who were disabled, and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, 'that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain.'"

The day after the engagement, the enemy abandoned Beaufort, leaving behind them about eighty pieces of cannon and

three mortars, having first set fire to all their floating batteries, and blown up their magazines of powder for supplying them and the troops that were on that side.

The remains of the French army, which were still large, under M. de Levi, retired to Montreal. At first he had hoped to recover Quebec, by a coup-de-main, during the winter; but, finding the outposts too well secured, and the governor very vigilant, he postponed the enterprise until spring.

The English resolved to follow up their victories; while the French were determined, if possible, to retrieve their lost fortunes. The colonial legislatures voted for 1760, the same number of men they had furnished this year, while M. de Levi made preparation to retake Quebec before those forces could arrive. In April, when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was open, he descended the river, under the convoy of six frigates; and, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. The garrison of General Murray, to whom the care of maintaining the English conquest had been intrusted, instead of 5000, could now muster only about 3000 men fit for service. The troops had been thus reduced by sickness, arising from an extremely cold winter, and a want of good provisions.

With this small body, he resolved to meet the enemy in the field; and, on the 28th of April, he marched out to meet him, when a bloody battle was fought at Sillery, about three miles above the city. The English, after losing 1000 men, finding themselves in danger of being outflanked and surrounded by superior numbers, found it necessary to retreat to Quebec. The French loss has been estimated at about 2000.

On the evening of the same day, the French opened trenches before the town, but it was not until the 11th of May that he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear upon the fortifications. In the meantime, Murray was not idle. By the most indefatigable exertions he had completed some outworks, and mounted so numerous an artillery on his ramparts, that his fire far exceeded that of the besiegers. In a few days a British fleet appeared, and M. de Levi raised the siege very hastily, and retired precipitately to Montreal.

Here, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters; and here, he resolved to make a last and a desperate effort. He called in all his detachments, and collected in this place all the force of the colony.

The English were resolved to annihilate the French power in Canada, and with this view, General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it with a superiority of numbers. The armies from Quebec, from lake Ontario and lake Champlain, arrived, on the 6th and 7th September, before Montreal. The French governor perceiving that resistance would be in vain, a capitulation was immediately signed; and Detroit, Michilimackinac—in a word, all New France soon after surrendered to the English. The French troops were to be carried home, and the Canadians to retain their civil and religious privileges.

Thus terminated a war, during which the most unheard-of cruelties had been perpetrated by the savages, mutually excited by the French and English against each other. The French commenced by attempting to confine the English to a narrow strip of country along the Atlantic, and ended with the loss of what was then their only important territory in North America.

In 1763, a definitive treaty was signed at Paris, and soon after ratified by the Kings of England and France, by which all Nova Scotia, Canada, the isle of Cape Breton, with all the other islands in the gulf and river St. Lawrence, were ceded to Great Britain.

While the troops were engaged in the conquest of Canada, the Cherokee Indians, a powerful tribe, were committing many outrages in the colonies of Virginia and South Carolina. General Amherst despatched General Montgomery with an army of 1200 men against them. He proceeded into their country, where he plundered and destroyed their villages and magazines of corn; but being obliged to return, Colonel Grant was sent against the savages with an army of near 2600 men. He met the enemy, and after a severe battle put them to flight. He next proceeded to burn their cornfields, magazines, villages, &c. The chiefs came in, and a peace was concluded.

"Again the towns aspire; the cultured field
And crowded mart their copious treasures yield;
Back to his plough the colon soldier moves,
And songs of triumph fill the warbling groves;
The conscious flocks, returning joys that share,
Spread through the grassland o'er the walks of war;
Streams, freed of gore, their crystal course regain,
Serener sunbeams gild the tentless plain;
A general jubilee, o'er earth and heaven,
Leads the gay morn and lights the lambent even.
Rejoicing, confident of long repose,
(Their friends triumphant, far retired their foes,)
The British colonies now feel their sway,
Span the whole north and crowd the western day.
Acadia, Canada, earth's total side,
From Slave's long lake to Pensacola's tide,
Expand their soils for them; and here unfold
A range of highest hope, a promised age of gold."

PART III.

REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

Cause of the Revolution—Stamp Act—Its Effects—Grenville's Speech—Barre's Reply—Change of Ministry—Effort to revoke the Stamp Act—Franklin's Speech—Grenville's Reply—Pitt's Speech—revocation of the Stamp Act—Change of Ministry—Duties on Tea, &c.—Disturbances in the Colonies—Imprudent Acts of Parliament—Troops sent to Boston—Fight between Soldiers and Citizens—Importation of Tea—Its *Reception*—Boston Port-Bill—Meetings held in the Colonies—Congress meets at Philadelphia—Their Acts—What constitutes a State—Preparations for War—Assistance of the Ladies—Governor fortifies Boston—Seizes the Powder at Charlestown—People fly to Arms—Excitement in the other Provinces.

"What heroes from the woodland sprung,
When through the fresh awaken'd land
The thrilling cry of freedom rung,
And to the work of warfare strung
The yeoman's iron hand!"

"———— the blood more stirs
To rouse a *lion*, than to start a hare."

ALTHOUGH the object of this work is, more particularly, the description of *warlike* operations, than the proceedings of legislative bodies, yet, the *rights* of the colonists, and of mankind generally, were so ably discussed in America and in England, just before, and during the revolution, and the justice of the war so clearly demonstrated to every unprejudiced mind, that we could not do justice to our subject without entering more fully into their detail than we had at first intended.

Instead of giving the detached ideas of many individuals,

from which we can never form correct opinions, we shall give the orations of a few of those illustrious men, of both countries, whose minds rose higher and higher, and shone with brighter effulgence as the fearful political storm increased around them.

Taxation or no taxation, that was the question—the hinge upon which the revolution turned.

After the close of the French and Indian War, and the treaty of 1763, England, encumbered with an enormous national debt, incurred by her wars in the Old and the New World, adopted a most oppressive policy against the colonies. An act was passed in Parliament, September 24, 1764, the preamble to which began thus: "Whereas, it is *just* and necessary that a *revenue* be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same, we the Commons, &c." The act then goes on to lay a duty on a variety of articles, The colonists justly contended that *taxation* and *representation* were inseparable, and that they could not be safe, if their property could be taken from them without their consent.

The following year, notwithstanding the memorials, the remonstrances, the petitions, and resolutions of the American provinces, the famous *stamp act* passed both houses of Parliament. By this it was ordained that instruments of writing, such as deeds, bonds, notes, &c, among the colonies, should be null and void, unless executed on *stamped* paper, for which a high duty should be paid to the crown. To make this act still more odious, if possible, the stamp duties were to be paid in specie; of which, said Benjamin Franklin, there was not enough, in all the colonies, to pay them, even for one year. Another provision in this act was, that those charged with a violation of the revenue laws might be prosecuted in the courts of admiralty, thus depriving them of a trial by jury, and exposing them to the rapacity of a single officer of the crown, *whose salary proceeded from the very forfeitures decreed by himself!!*

The legislature of Virginia being in session when the news of the act was received, immediately passed resolutions

against it. The general court of Massachusetts recommended a congress of deputies from the colonies, to deliberate upon the best means of opposing this preposterous system of taxation. They met at New York, drew up a declaration of rights and grievances of the colonies; and voted a petition to the king. The greatest excitement prevailed among the people. In one of the societies they formed, the members bound themselves to march, at their own expense, to any part of the continent, for the single purpose of preventing the execution of the stamp act.

On the 5th of October, the ships which brought the stamps, appeared in sight of Philadelphia; whereupon all the vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours half-staff high: the bells were muffled, and tolled during the remainder of the day, and all seemed to denote great mourning over a national calamity.

On the 1st of November, when the stamp act came into operation, the day was ushered in by a tolling of the bells in Boston and in Postsmouth. In the latter place, a coffin, inscribed with the word *Liberty*, was carried to the grave. Minute-guns were fired during the movements of the funeral procession, and at the grave an oration was offered in favour of the deceased. Similar feelings were manifested in various parts of the country. Riots broke out in the principal cities; officers were threatened, and some had their houses demolished, and their furniture destroyed. "The courts of justice were closed; the ports were shut; even marriages were no longer celebrated; and, in a word, an absolute stagnation in all the relations of social life was established."

When great outrages are committed upon a spirited people; when attempts are made to deprive them of their rights, their indignation becomes terrible, and many become extremely violent, so as often to injure for a time the most noble cause. Their more prudent brethren, or their own reflections, when the first impulse is over, generally, however, bring them within due bounds, to make a reasonable and judicious opposition to their oppressors.

The King's ministers, who, pending this bill, had been de-

claiming vehemently against the opposition of the colonists, had proved nothing but their own bigotry and blind zeal for the King, and their entire destitution of a sense of political truth and justice, relative to this great question. Mr. Charles Townsend, in the conclusion of a speech on this measure of George Grenville's, exclaimed,

"These Americans, our own children, planted by our cares, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence; will they now turn their backs upon us, and grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load which overwhelms us?"

Colonel Barre caught the words, and with the true spirit of a soldier, said:

"*Planted by your cares?* No! your oppression planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country; a people the most subtle, and, I take upon me to say, the most truly terrible of any people that ever inhabited any part of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

"*They nourished by your indulgence?* They grew by your neglect; as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, had caused the blood of these sons of liberty to recoil within them; men, promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, *to my knowledge, were glad, by going to foreign countries, to escape the vengeance of the laws in their own.*

"*They protected by your arms?* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valour amidst their

constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded, for your enlargements, the little savings of their frugality and the fruits of their toils. And *believe me, remember* I this day told you so, that the same spirit which actuated that people at first, will continue with them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself any further. God knows I do not, at this time, speak from motives of party heat; what I assert proceeds from the sentiments of the heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience any one here may be, yet I claim to know more of America, having seen and been more conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated. But the subject is delicate; I will say no more."

While the colonel delivered this extemporaneous discourse, the whole house, petrified with surprise, stared at him as though he had been a messenger from another sphere.

On the very night the stamp act was passed, Dr. Franklin, who was then in London, wrote to Charles Thompson, afterwards Secretary of the Continental Congress; "*The sun of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy.*" To which Mr. Thompson answered; "*Be assured we shall light torches of quite another sort.*"

The determined and universal opposition to the stamp act in America, soon convinced Parliament that it must either be enforced or repealed. The King, either alarmed or not quite tyrant enough yet to resort to force, changed his ministers, and the Marquis of Rockingham, a man of great vigour and genius and of a sincere character, was appointed First Lord of the Treasury in place of Grenville.

The year 1765 approaching its conclusion, the parliament was convoked. But meeting again in January 1766, the new ministers, passionately desirous of obtaining a revocation of the stamp act, made every exertion to accomplish this great object.

In addition to their numerous preparatives, they resolved

to employ Benjamin Franklin, whose great reputation, the candour of his character, the services rendered to his country and the world, would give his opinions great weight. The galleries were crowded to hear him speak on this engrossing subject. He was interrogated, during the debates, in the presence of the House of Commons. He answered with gravity and perfect composure.

"The Americans," said he, "already pay taxes on all estates, real and personal; a poll tax; a tax on all offices, professions, trades, and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all negroes imported; with some other duties. The assessments upon real and personal estates amount to eighteen pence in the pound; and those upon the profits of employment, to half a crown. The colonies could not in any way pay the stamp duty; there is not gold and silver enough in all the colonies to pay the stamp duty even for one year. The Germans [and Swiss] who inhabit Pennsylvania [and who converted Penn's woods into a garden] are more dissatisfied with this duty than the native colonists themselves. The Americans, since the new laws, have abated much of their affection for Great Britain, and of their respect for parliament. There exists a great difference between internal and external duties; duties laid on commodities imported have no other effect than to raise the price of these articles in the American market; they make, in fact, a part of this price; but it is optional with the people either to buy them or not, and consequently to pay the duty or not. But an internal tax is forced from the people without their own consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The stamp act says, we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase, nor grant, nor recover debts, we shall neither marry, nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it. The American colonists could, in a short time, find in their own manufactures the means of sufficing to themselves. The repeal of the stamp act would

restore tranquillity, and things would resume their pristine course."

This speech was a powerful support to the new ministers; but the advocates of the unjust law collected all their strength to oppose its repeal. After a long and warm debate, and when the period of a decision was drawing near, George Grenville, who, when prime minister, had first proposed the stamp act in parliament, arose and spoke as follows:

"If I could persuade myself that the pride of opinion, the spirit of party, or the affection which man usually bears to things done by himself, had so fascinated my intellectual sight and biassed the faculties of my mind, as to deprive me of all power to see and distinguish that which is manifest, I certainly, on this occasion, should have entrenched myself in silence, and thus displayed, if not my zeal for the public service, at least my prudence and discretion. But, as the affair now before us has been the subject of my most attentive consideration, and of my most deliberate reflection, at the period when the general tranquillity was uninterrupted by scandalous excesses; and as from a contingency for which I claim no merit, it appears that to my honour and reputation the honour and dignity of the kingdom are attached, my prudence might be reputed coldness, and my discretion a base desertion.

"But where is the public, where is the private man, whatever may be his moderation, who is not roused at the present dangers which so imminently threaten the safety of our country? Who does not put forth all his strength to avert them? And who can help indulging the most sinister anticipation, in contemplating the new counsels and fatal inactivity of the present servants of the crown? A solemn law has been enacted in parliament, already a year since. It was, and still is, the duty of ministers to carry it into effect. The constitution declares, that to suspend a law, or the execution of a law, by royal authority, and without consent of parliament, is felony; in defiance of which, this law has been suspended—has been openly resisted—but did I say resisted? Your delegates are insulted, their houses are pillaged; even

their persons are not secure from violence; and, as if to provoke your patience, you are mocked and braved under the mouths of your artillery. Your ears are assailed from every quarter with protestations that obedience cannot, shall not, ought not to be rendered to your decrees. Perhaps other ministers, more old-fashioned, would have thought it their duty, in such a case, to lend the law the aid of force; thus maintaining the dignity of the crown, and the authority of your deliberations. But those young gentlemen who sit on the opposite benches, and no one knows how, look upon these principles as the antiquated maxims of our simple ancestors, and disdain to honour with their attention mere acts of riot, sedition, and open resistance. With a patience truly exemplary, they recommend to the governors lenity and moderation; they grant them permission to call in the aid of three or four soldiers from General Gage, and as many cock-boats from Lord Colvil; they commend them for not having employed, to carry the law into effect, the means which had been placed in their hands. Be prepared to see that the seditious are in the right, and that we only are in fault; such, assuredly, is the opinion of the ministers. And who could doubt it? They have declared themselves, they incessantly repeat it in your presence. It is but too apparent that, much against their will, they have at length laid before you the disorders and audacious enormities of the Americans; for they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately, they were only *occurrences*—they are now grown to disturbances, tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of revolution. May Heaven bless the admirable resignation of our ministers; but I much fear we shall gather no fruits from it of an agreeable relish. Occasion is fleeting, the danger is urgent; and this undisciplinable people, the amiable object of their fond solicitude, of their tender care, are forming leagues, are weaving conspiracies, are preparing to resist the orders of the king and of the parliament. Continue then, ye men of long suffering, to march in the way you have chosen;

even repeal the law; and see how many agents you will find zealous in the discharge of their duty, in executing the laws of the kingdom, in augmenting the revenues and diminishing the burthens of your people; see, also, how many ministers you will find, who, for the public service, will oppose a noble and invincible firmness against the cabals of malignity, against the powerful combination of all private interests, against the clamours of the multitude, and the perversity of faction. In a word, if you would shiver all the springs of government, repeal the law.

"I hear it asserted, from every quarter, by these defenders of the colonists, that they cannot be taxed by authority of Parliament, because they are not there represented. But if so, why, and by what authority, do you legislate for them at all? If they are represented, they ought to obey all laws of Parliament, whatsoever, whether of the nature of taxes, or any other, whatever. If they are not, they ought neither to submit to tax laws, nor to any other. And if you believe the colonists ought not to be taxed, by authority of Parliament, from defect of representation, how will you maintain that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this kingdom, no better represented than the colonists, ought to submit to your taxation? The Americans have taken a hostile attitude towards the mother country, and you would not only forgive their errors, dissemble their outrages, remit the punishment due, but surrender at discretion, and acknowledge their victory complete! Is this preventing popular commotions? Is this repressing tumults and rebellion? Is it not rather to foment them, to encourage them to supply fresh fuel to the *conflagration?* Let any man, not blinded by the spirit of party, judge and pronounce. I would freely listen to the counsels of clemency, I would even consent to the abrogation of the law, if the Americans had requested it in a decent mode;[!] but their modes are outrages, derision, and the ways of force; pillage, plunder, arms, and open resistance to the will of government. It is a thing truly inadmissible, and altogether new, that, at any moment, whenever the fancy may take them, or the name of a law shall happen to displease them,

these men should at once set about starving our manufacturers, and refuse to pay what they owe to the subjects of Great Britain. The officers of the crown, in America, have repeatedly solicited, and earnestly entreated, the ministers to furnish them with proper means to carry the law into effect; but the latter have disregarded their instances; and, by this negligence, the American tumults have taken the alarming character we see. And shall we now suffer the ministers to come and allege the effects of their own neglect, to induce us to sacrifice the best interests of this kingdom, the majesty, the power, and even the reputation of the government, to an evil, overgrown indeed, but not past cure, the moment a suitable resolution is demonstrated to bring this infatuated multitude to a sense of duty? But again, if the colonists are exempted, by their constitutions, from parliamentary taxes, as levies of seamen have been either prohibited or restricted in America, by different acts of Parliament, it follows, of necessity, that they are not bound either to furnish men for the defence of the common country, or money to pay them; and that England, alone, must support the burthen of the maintenance and protection of these, her ungrateful children. If such a partiality should be established, it must be at the hazard of depopulating this kingdom, and of dissolving that original compact upon which all human societies repose.

"But I hear these subtle doctors attempting to inculcate a fantastical distinction between external and internal taxes, as if they were not the same as to the effect—that of taking money from the subjects for the public service. Wherefore, then, these new counsels? When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house if any gentleman would object to the right? I repeatedly asked it; and no man would attempt to deny it. And tell me when the Americans were emancipated. When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. This protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner; and now they refuse to contribute their mite towards the public expenses. For, let not gentlemen deceive themselves with regard to the rigour of the tax; it would not suffice even for

the necessary expenses of the troops stationed in America; but a peppercorn in acknowledgment of the right, is of more value than millions without. Yet, notwithstanding the slightness of the tax, and the urgency of our situation, the Americans grow sullen, and instead of concurring in expenses arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion.

"There has been a time when they would not have proceeded thus; but they are now supported by ministers more American than English. Already, by the artifice of these young gentlemen, inflammatory petitions are handed about against us, and in their favour. Even within this house, even in this sanctuary of the laws, sedition has found its defenders. Resistance to the laws is applauded, obstinacy encouraged, disobedience extolled, rebellion pronounced a virtue! Oh, more than juvenile imprudence! Oh, blind ambition of the human mind! But you give a fatal example; you will soon have ample cause to repent your own work.

"And thou, ungrateful people of America, is this the return for the cares and fondness of thy ancient mother? [A stepmother, I presume!] When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce; and yet I have been abused, in all the public papers, as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of Parliament.

"But it is meant first to calumniate the man, and then destroy his work. Of myself, I will speak no more; and the substance of my decided opinion upon the subject of our debates is briefly this: let the stamp act be maintained; and let the governors of the American provinces be provided with suitable means to repress disorders, and carry the law into complete effect."

Thus spoke the advocates of royal power in opposition to the people's rights; esteeming extortion and oppression as fundamental maxims of just government; regarding the honest indignation of an injured people as the ebullition of an "infatuated multitude," and ridiculing the dawn of freedom, that immortal spirit of light and truth, that with a mighty blaze soon burst over the length and breadth of the land, and which is destined to liberate a world from the thraldom of ages.

No sooner had Mr. Grenville taken his seat than Mr. Pitt, venerable for his age and for the many services rendered to his country, the invariable friend of liberty and equal rights, rose and replied to his sophistry.

"I know not whether I ought most to rejoice, that the infirmities which have been wasting, for so long a time, a body already bowed by the weight of years, of late suspending their ordinary violence, should have allowed me, this day, to behold these walls and to discuss, in the presence of this august assembly, a subject of such high importance, and which so nearly concerns the safety of our country; or to grieve at the rigour of destiny, in contemplating this country, which, within a few years, had arrived at such a pinnacle of splendour and majesty, and become formidable to the universe from the immensity of its power, now wasted by an intestine evil, a prey to civil discords, and madly hastening to the brink of the abyss, into which the united force of the most powerful nations of Europe struggled in vain to plunge it. Would to heaven that my health had permitted my attendance here, when it was first proposed to tax America! If my feeble voice should not have been able to avert the torrent of calamities which has fallen upon us, and the tempest which threatens us, at least my testimony would have attested that I had no part in them.

"It is now an act that has passed; I would speak with decency of every act of this house, but I must beg the indulgence of the house to speak of it with freedom. Assuredly, a more important subject never engaged your attention, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the

question whether you yourselves were to be bond or free. Those who have spoken before me with so much vehemence, would maintain the act because our honour demands it. If gentlemen consider the subject in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. But can the point of honour stand opposed against justice, against reason, against right? Wherein can honour better consist than in doing reasonable things? *It is my opinion that England has no right to tax the colonies.* At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. The colonists are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law: the gift and grant is of the commons alone; now this house represents the commons, as they virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants; when, therefore, in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your majesty the property of your commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. It was just now affirmed, that no difference exists between internal and external taxes, and that taxation is an essential part of legislation. Are not the crown and the peers equally legislative powers with the commons? If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

"There is an idea in some, that the Americans are virtually represented in this house; but I would fain know by what province, county, city, or borough, they are represented here? No doubt by some province, county, city, or borough, never seen or known by them or their ancestors, and which they never will see or know.

"The commons of America, represented in the several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it.

"I come not here armed at all points with law-cases, and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dog's ears, as my valiant adversary has done. But I know, at least, if we are to take examples from ancient facts, that, *even under the most arbitrary reigns, Parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent,* and allowed them representatives; and in our own times, even those who send no members to Parliament, are all, at least, inhabitants of Great Britain. Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connections with those that elect, and they have influence over them. Would to Heaven that all were better represented than they are! It is the vice of our constitution; perhaps the day will arrive, and I rejoice in the hope, when the mode of representation, this essential part of our civil organization, and principal safeguard of our liberty, will be carried to that perfection, which every good Englishman must desire.

"It has been asked, When were the Americans emancipated? But I desire to know when they were made slaves?

"It is said, that in this house the signal of resistance has been given, that the standard of rebellion has been erected; and thus it is attempted to stigmatize the fairest prerogative of British senators, that of speaking what they think, and freely discussing the interests of their country. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom, against this unhappy act; they have foreseen, they have predicted the perils that impend, and this frankness is imputed as a crime. Sorry I

am to observe, that we can no longer express our opinions in this house, without being exposed to censure; we must prepare for a disastrous futurity, if we do not oppose, courageously, with our tongues, our hearts, our hands, the tyranny with which we are menaced. I hear it said that America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. *I rejoice that America has* RESISTED. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of ourselves. The honourable member has said also—for he is fluent in words of bitterness—that America is ungrateful; he boasts of his bounties towards her; but are not these bounties intended, finally, for the benefit of this kingdom? And how is it true that America is ungrateful? Does she not voluntarily hold a good correspondence with us? *The profits to Great Britain, from her commerce with the colonies, are* 2,000,000 *pounds a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war.* The estates that were rented at 2000 pounds a year, seventy years ago, are at 3000 pounds at present. You owe this to America. *This is the price she pays for your protection.* I omit the increase of population in the colonies; the migration of new inhabitants from every part of Europe; and the ulterior progress of American commerce, should it be regulated by judicious laws. And shall we hear a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a peppercorn into the exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation? The gentleman complains that he has been misrepresented in the public prints. I can only say it is a misfortune common to all that fill high stations, and take a leading part in public affairs. He says, also, that when he first asserted the right of Parliament to tax America, he was not contradicted. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house, which does not choose to contradict a minister. If gentlemen do not get the better of this modesty, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. A great deal has been said without doors, and more than is discreet, of the power, of the strength of America. But, in a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of

this country can crush America to atoms; but, on the ground of this tax, when it is wished to prosecute an evident injustice, I am one who will lift my hands and voice against it.

"In such a cause, your success would be deplorable, *and victory hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man.* She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you? while France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave-trade with Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty? while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror traduced into a mean plunderer? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and benignity come first from the strongest side. Excuse their errors, learn to honour their virtues. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. I consider it most consistent with our dignity, most useful to our liberty, and in every respect the safest for this kingdom, that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

These words, from a man of such great authority, produced a powerful effect upon the minds of his hearers; and the question being put, on the 22d of February, the repeal of the stamp act was carried. Accompanying the repealing act, was a declaratory act, the language of which was, "that Parliament have, and of right ought to have, *power to bind the*

colonies in all cases whatsoever." The news of the revocation of the stamp act was received in America with indescribable joy and exultation, and Pitt became the object of boundless praises, although he had, in strong terms, advocated the authority of Parliament over the colonies; they believed this was intended merely to soothe British pride and heal its wounded dignity.

The king, who had very reluctantly consented to the repeal of the stamp act, still cherished the favourite scheme of taxation. Another change of ministry took place. The Duke of Grafton was appointed first Secretary of the Treasury, in the place of the Marquis of Rockingham; the Earl of Sheburne, Secretary of State; Charles Townsend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, finally, William Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was promoted to the charge of Keeper of the Seals.

In 1767, a bill passed the Parliament to impose certain duties on tea, glass, and paints, brought into the colonies, Pitt being absent from indisposition. The duties were but small, but the Americans justly regarded them as small wedges, designed to make room for others much greater and heavier. This act, therefore, with some others equally unjust and dangerous, again spread alarm through the colonies, and produced resolves, petitions, addresses, remonstrances, and associations similar to those elicited by the stamp act. This determined opposition led the government to adopt the most rigorous measures against the colonies, and especially Massachusetts, where that opposition had taken the deepest root.

In 1769 Parliament approved that the king should employ force of arms to repress the disobedient of that province, declaring at the same time, that he had the right to cause the leaders of the disorders to be brought to England for trial, and requesting him to give orders to the Governor of Massachusetts to put this measure into execution.

A greater outrage could not well be committed than to seize and tear a man from his country for supporting his rights, to be sacrificed by a jury of bigoted, prejudiced strangers. The colonial assemblies passed resolutions, the strongest that could be devised, to arrest British aggression and secure

their rights. The king, at the same time, was conjured, as the father of his subjects, to interpose his royal intercession, and prevent men from being "forced from their firesides, wrested from the embraces of their families, and thrust into dungeons, among robbers and felons, at the distance of three thousand miles from their country, to linger until judges, whom they knew not, should have pronounced their fate." Pursuing such a course, the Assembly of Virginia was dissolved, by the governor, with a severe reprimand. The Assembly of North Carolina was dissolved by the governor of that province for the same reason.

The British government, not yet satiated with acts of the most disgraceful character that ever stained the honour of an enlightened nation, sent a corrupt soldiery from Halifax to be stationed among the honest and high-minded people of Boston, and to keep them in subjection. This converted all Boston into a kind of volcano on the point of eruption. The deep thunders of indignation convulsed the town and spread the signal of alarm over the colonies.

On the morning of the 2d March, 1770, a quarrel took place between a soldier and a rope-maker. The former, after a severe beating, soon returned with several of his comrades, when a fight ensued between the soldiers and the rope-makers, in which the latter were beaten.

Such conduct in foreign troops, regarded as instruments of tyranny, and against whom an inveterate hatred already existed, exasperated the people; and on the 5th, between seven and eight o'clock, a violent tumult broke out. The people, armed with clubs, rushed a living torrent into King street, with loud cries, "*Let us drive out these ribalds;* they have no business here." The soldiers, who were mere hirelings of the king, and whose ideas of justice and humanity, probably, seldom extended beyond the points of their bayonets, were eager to fall upon and murder the populace; and their officers, who at first restrained them, did so with the greatest difficulty. Cries of *fire! fire! fire!* to arms! to arms! were heard through the town; men were running through the streets; the dog rushes from his lair baying forth his

deep-throated warnings; the solemn peals of the bells fall upon the startled ear and arouse fearful commotions in the breasts of men. The sound of *fire! fire! fire!* again echoed through the town, and stirred the souls of men to acts of daring; the people rush furiously onward, they approach the sentinel at the custom-house, crying, "*kill him! kill him!*" They pelted him with snow-balls, stones, pieces of ice, or whatever else they could lay their hands upon. The guard were quickly called, who marched with arms loaded, their captain following them. The torrent of invective, the rage of the people, multitudes of whom crowded around the soldiers, to the points of the bayonets, uttering fierce cries, menaces, and dreadful imprecations; the continued solemn peals of the alarm-bells—all conspired to fill the soldiers with awe; and they stood like statues, riveted to the spot in silent horror.

Several thousand people had assembled. They rush upon the soldiers, some of whom are ordered to fire. Three men are killed and five wounded. Lieut.-Governor Hutchinson, interfering, asked Captain Preston in a menacing manner, "*Why have you fired without the orders of the civil magistrate?*" He answered, "*We have been insulted.*" The governor then persuaded the people to disperse, by a promise that the affair should be settled to their satisfaction. Captain Preston was committed to prison with some of his soldiers. Upon the trial, the captain and six soldiers were acquitted, and two convicted of manslaughter. The anniversary of this evening was for several years commemorated by the citizens of Boston, when patriotic speeches were delivered to awaken and perpetuate the spirit of revolution.

The resolutions of the meetings and associations in America, to suspend the importation of tea, had occasioned the vast quantity of seventeen millions of pounds to accumulate upon the hands of the East India Company. Both the British ministry and the company were deeply interested; the one desirous of obtaining the expected *revenue* from the sale of the tea, the other, the usual commercial profits. They cunningly devised a scheme which they thought would fill the coffers of the one and the pockets of the other.

The company was by law authorized to *export* tea free of duty, and as this duty had been greater than that to be paid on its *importation* into the colonies, (which had been reduced to three pence on the pound), the tea would be cheaper than before the exceptionable duty was laid. They had no doubt but that, as the tea had, in a measure, become one of the necessaries of life, the colonists would be eager to buy; and the vessels came groaning with their loads of tea across the ocean to the principal harbours of this country. The colonists, awake to their interests, resolved not to pay even *three pence* as a *duty;* for that would be a recognition of a law by which they were taxed against their will; and the principle once established, would soon subject them to all the oppression against which they had so long and so nobly contended.

Accordingly, on the arrival of the tea at Charleston, the chests, though permitted to be brought to shore, were thrown into damp cellars, where they were suffered to spoil. Most of the ships landing at New York and Philadelphia were obliged to return with their whole cargoes.

At Boston, an immense meeting assembled at Faneuil Hall, when it was resolved, by acclamation, "that the tea should not be landed; that no duty should be paid; and that it should be sent back in the same bottoms."

The captain, alarmed, would have cleared for England; but the governor wanted the *revenue*, or, at least, the English government wanted it, and the governor being her tool, would not depart from his instructions; and, to keep the vessel in port, refused the clearance. This answer being reported to the meeting at Faneuil Hall, they immediately adjourned, and repaired to the wharf. Some, assuming the dress of Mohawk Indians, went on board of the vessels, and in a few hours opened and emptied 342 chests of tea into the harbour.

The *Massachusetts Gazette*, of 30th November, 1773, contains the following account of this Bostonian *tea-party*, and the last meeting held in that place, relative to the anathematized weed:

"Just before the dissolution of the meeting, a number of brave and resolute men, dressed in the Indian manner, ap-

proached near the door of the Assembly, and gave the war-whoop, which rang through the house, and was answered by some in the galleries; but silence was commanded, and a peaceful deportment again *enjoined* till the dissolution. The Indians, as they were then called, repaired to the wharf where the ships lay, that had the tea on board, and were followed by hundreds of people, *to see the event of the transactions of those who made so grotesque an appearance.* They, the Indians, immediately repaired on board Captain Hall's ship, where they hoisted out the chests of tea, and, when on deck, stove the chests and hove the tea overboard. Having cleared this ship, they proceeded to Captain Bruce's, and then to Captain Coffin's brig. They applied themselves so dexterously to the destruction of this commodity, that in the space of three hours, they broke up 342 chests, which was the whole number in those vessels, and discharged their contents into the dock. When the tide rose, it floated the broken chests and the tea, insomuch that the surface of the water was filled therewith, a considerable way from the south part of the town of Dorchester Neck, and lodged on the shores. *There was the greatest care taken to prevent the tea from being purloined by the populace.* One or two being detected in endeavouring to pocket a small quantity, were stripped of their acquisitions and very roughly handled. * * * The town was very quiet during the whole evening and the night following. *Those who were from the country went home, and the next day joy appeared in almost every countenance*—some, on occasion of the destruction of the tea, others, on account of the quietness with which it was effected. One of the Monday's papers says, *that the masters and owners are well pleased that the ships are thus cleared.*"

In the memoirs of one of the last survivors of the tea-party, it is stated that John Hancock was among the speakers; and that he advanced the opinion pretty significantly, not only that the governor had absolutely made up his mind to land the tea, but that, as things now were, *the matter must be settled before twelve o'clock that night;* and he adds, that one of the last things he heard said, in the final excitement,

was Hancock's cry, "*Let every man do what is right in his own eyes!*" Some person or persons in the galleries at this time cried out with a loud voice, "BOSTON HARBOUR A TEA-POT THIS NIGHT!—Hurra for Griffin's Wharf!"

The news of these proceedings reaching England, and being communicated in a message from the throne, March 7, 1774, the frantic rage and indignation of the ministerial party almost made them fit subjects for straight-jackets, at least if we have any confidence in *restraint* to cure madness. Their subsequent proceedings were in exact accordance with this state of mind. A bill was passed in Parliament to shut up Boston as a port of entry, and remove the custom-house to Salem; another soon followed, subverting the charter and vesting in the king the power of nominating all the officers of the colony. In a third it was provided, that any person indicted for a capital offence might be sent to another colony or to England for trial, if it should appear to the governor that a fair trial could not be had in that province.

When these acts arrived, the town of Boston passed the following vote, of which copies were sent to the other colonies:—"That it is the opinion of this town, that, if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from Great Britain and the West Indies, till the act for blocking up this harbour be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties."

The House of Burgesses in Virginia being in session, appointed the 1st of June, 1774, the day when the "*Boston Port Bill*" was to take effect, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. The example was followed in all other parts of the country. On such a day the people's thoughts would naturally be occupied with the accumulated wrongs of the mother country; and, independently of addressing the Arbiter of nations to aid them in the righteous cause in which they were about to engage, they would prepare to do *their* part.

Meetings were held in every part of the continent, and letters and addresses were sent to Boston, encouraging the inhabitants with an assurance of the co-operation and support of her sister provinces.

In the mean time, measures had been taken to elect deputies to represent the respective provinces in a Continental Congress. On the 4th of September, deputies from eleven different colonies assembled at Philadelphia, and elected for President, Peyton Randolph of Virginia, and Charles Thomson, Secretary.

"High on the foremost seat, in living light,
Resplendent Randolph caught the world's full sight.
He opes the cause, and points in prospect far
Through all the toils that wait impending war:
But, reverend sage! thy race must soon be o'er,
To lend thy lustre and to shine no more.
So the mild morning star, from shades of even,
Leads up the dawn and lights the front of heaven;
Points to the waking world the sun's broad way,
Then veils his own, and vaults above the day."

The acts of this patriotic assembly were, to vote that the contributions already made to relieve Boston should be continued as long as necessary; a declaration of rights and grievances; a recommendation to the merchants to stop all imports from Great Britain; a letter to General Gage, then Governor of Massachusetts; a petition to the king; an address to the people of Great Britain; one to the inhabitants of the colonies; and one to the people of Canada. These were all masterly compositions, full of wisdom, firmness and patriotism; exciting the admiration of the greatest statesmen, while those narrow-minded bigots of England, who had been accustomed to speak of the wisdom and spirit of the colonists with profound contempt, were almost struck dumb with amazement. In less than eight weeks this congress adjourned, to meet again on the 10th of the ensuing May, unless their grievances should be previously redressed.

A part of the address of the Continental Congress to the people of England, will serve to demonstrate the prevailing opinions, the ardent feelings, and the firm resolve under which the people of America spoke and acted, during this epoch, while supporting their glorious cause.

"When a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and

humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

"In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty, to you their posterity. Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guarantied by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having *our* lives and property in their power, they may with the greatest facility enslave *you*. The cause of America is now the object of universal attention; it has, at length, become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject.

"Know, then, that we consider ourselves, and do insist that we are, and ought to be, as free as our fellow-subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent. That we shall claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English constitution, and particularly, that inestimable one of trial by jury. That we hold it essential to English liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence. That we

think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion [in Canada] fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe."

"Admit," say they, in another place, "that the ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery; such an enterprise would, doubtless, make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with pensioners and placemen.

* * * * * * * * * *

"We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency; but these are mere calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness. But, if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the liberties of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we shall never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any minister or nation in the world."

The address of Congress to the American people was a statement of their grievances; a proof of the justice of their cause; well calculated to confirm them in their resistance to their oppressors, and prepare their minds for the worst. They said that, "the schemes agitated against the colonies have been so conducted as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to *mournful events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency.*" The people took the hint, and extended their views to mournful events, by forming themselves into companies, and practising military discipline.

The Assembly of Massachusetts met at Salem, October 5, and the governor withholding the light of his countenance,

they adjourned to Concord, where they formed themselves into a provincial Congress, and elected John Hancock their president. They now adjourned to Cambridge, where they drew up a plan to defend the province, by preparing munitions of war, filling magazines with provisions, enlisting men, appointing officers, &c.

This provincial Congress met again in November, when it was resolved that 12,000 men should be raised to act on any emergency. They also enrolled one-fourth part of the militia, whom they called *minute-men*, to be held in readiness to march at a *minute's* notice. At the same time the neighbouring states were requested to increase this army to 20,000 men.

All these resolutions, both of the Continental Congress and of the local Assemblies, were approved and strictly carried into effect by the people. Their meetings and union of their representatives produced a liberal interchange of ideas between the remote parts of the colonies,—formed a moral bond of union,—produced a spirit of laudable emulation, and improved the moral, political, and intellectual condition of the whole country. The principles of justice and honour distinguished all the acts of these newly constituted authorities, the agents of the people, who now, according to the natural rights of man, constituted the government.

"What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised battlements or labour'd mounds,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;
Not bays and broad-arm'd ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starr'd and spangled courts,
Where low-brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride,
No;—*men*; high-minded men:—
Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aim'd blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain;
These constitute a state."

Two regiments of infantry, with several pieces of cannon,

had followed the arrival of General Gage, and were quartered in Boston. These were reinforced by several regiments from Halifax, Ireland, Quebec, and New York, to crush at once the spirit of liberty that was about to kindle into a wide-spread conflagration. But "if the true spark of civil and religious liberty be kindled, it will burn; human agency cannot extinguish it: like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven."

Many of the people, being experienced huntsmen, prepared for war with the greater facility, and were able to use the rifle with great advantage. Drums and fifes were now everywhere heard; balls were cast in almost every house, and the martial scenes exhibited by training were attended by the people of all ages and conditions. Even the ladies, as is usual on all occasions that try *men's* souls, animated and encouraged the patriots with their presence; assisted in the preparations for war, and shared the extreme sufferings to which the colonists were subjected.

"With tears for naught but other's ills,
And then they flowed like mountain rills.'

"Oh, woman! in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made;
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou!"

The governor, who had already excited the indignation of the people, by placing a guard upon the isthmus which connects the peninsula on which Boston is situated with the main land, now commenced fortifying the isthmus, to intimidate the people and prevent them from transporting arms from the town into the country. He next seized the *powder* that was stored in the magazine in Charlestown, adjoining Boston, apprehensive that the people might take possession

of it during the annual review of the militia, which was approaching. These proceedings were regarded as acts of hostility, and excited the rage of the people to the highest degree. They seized their arms, assembled from every quarter, and hastened to Cambridge. They would at once have marched to Boston, had they not been restrained by the prudence of some of their leaders.

A report was soon after circulated that hostilities had commenced in Boston, by the fleet and garrison firing upon the town, and that the Bostonians were defending themselves. The rumour was heard with avidity and circulated with surprising rapidity through every part of the province.

The farmer stops his plough in the field, seizes his gun, while he breathes retributive vengeance against the oppressors; the mechanic throws down his hammer and obeys the call of freedom; the labourer abandons his shovel, spade or axe for the weapon of war; the merchant forsakes his counter, the lawyer his desk, the physician his patient—from the hills and the valleys they come; from the hamlet and the cottage they issue forth—all hurrying promiscuously towards the supposed scene of action; and in a few hours 30,000 men were under arms.

"Thus, breathing death, in terrible array
The close-compacted legions urged their way:
Fierce they drove on, impatient to destroy;
* * * * * * *
As from some mountain's craggy forehead torn,
A rock's round fragment flies, with fury borne,
(Which from the stubborn stone a torrent rends,)
Precipitate the ponderous mass descends,
From steep to steep the rolling ruin bounds;
At every shock the crackling wood resounds;
Still gathering force, it smokes, and, urged amain,
Whirls, leaps, and thunders down, impetuous to the plain:
There stops"—

So this armed multitude stops; but not until they are satisfied that the report of the attack on Boston is unfounded.

Every province had now become the theatre of popular commotions, and a general scrambling took place between

the adverse governments for the powder. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the provincials stormed the fort, carrying off the powder and artillery. In Rhode Island a similar course was pursued; at Newport the people rose in their majesty, and took forty pieces of cannon which defended the harbour, fully convinced that the *language* of these would be the only effectual *argument* against the tyranny of their relentless oppressors.

CHAPTER II.

Efforts of Parliament—Pitt's conciliatory Bill—People of Massachusetts declared Rebels—Violent Commotions in America—Battle of Lexington—Flight of Adams and Hancock—Provincial Congress of Massachusetts—Address to the People of England—Army of 30,000 Men blockade Boston.

"And, as a lover hails the dawn
Of a first smile, so welcomed they
The sparkle of the first sword drawn
For vengeance and for liberty!"

"Oh! what an ever-glorious morning is this!"

The *omnipotence* of Parliament and the *impotence* of Lord North, prime minister, were still exerted to subdue the "daring spirit of resistance and disobedience" in the colonies, while Mr. Pitt, who after a long absence had resumed his seat in the House of Lords, introduced a *conciliatory* bill, and supported it and the people of America in a long and eloquent discourse; but the ministers obtained a majority and the bill was lost. The inhabitants of Massachusetts were soon after declared rebels, which was equivalent to declaring war against them. The object of treating this province with such rigour was to separate her from the rest; but the very measures that were adopted to separate the colonies cemented their union for mutual protection and defence. The rights of one were the rights of all; to submit to the enslaving of a sister province, would be a tacit recognition of the right of England to enslave the rest.

The news having arrived of the king's speech against the colonists at the opening of Parliament, the resolutions of that

body, and of the act declaring the people of Massachusetts rebels, all the inhabitants of the province seized their arms. "Indignation became fury—obstinacy, desperation. All idea of reconciliation had become chimerical; necessity stimulated the most timid; a thirst for vengeance fired every breast. The match is lighted—the materials disposed—the conflagration impends," while the sister colonies console and encourage them with a full assurance of their assistance through the impending war.

"In these arms," said they, "in our right hands, are placed the hope of safety, the existence of country, the defence of property, the honour of our wives and daughters. With these alone can we repulse a licentious soldiery, protect what man holds dearest upon earth, and unimpaired transmit our rights to our descendants. The world will admire our courage; all good men will second us with their wishes and prayers, and celebrate our names with immortal praises. *Our memory will become dear to posterity.* It will be the example, as the hope of freemen, and the dread of tyrants, to the latest ages. It is time that old contaminated England should be made acquainted with the energies of America, in the prime and innocence of her youth; it is time she should know how much superior are our soldiers in courage and constancy to vile mercenaries. We must look back no more! We must conquer or die! We are placed between altars smoking with the most grateful incense of glory and gratitude, on the one part, and blocks and dungeons on the other. Let each then rise, and gird himself for the combat; the dearest interests of this world command it; our most holy religion enjoins it; that God, who eternally rewards the virtuous and punishes the wicked, ordains it. Let us accept these happy auguries; for already the mercenary satellites, sent by wicked ministers to reduce this innocent people to extremity, are imprisoned within the walls of a single city, where hunger emaciates them, rage devours them, death consumes them. Let us banish every fear, every alarm; fortune smiles upon the efforts of the brave!"

On the 19th of April, 1775, the first blow was struck, with

a heavy arm, in the war of the Revolution, and Lexington, in Massachusetts, stands first on the list of the battle-grounds, the hallowed spots where British tyranny over our country was crushed, and American freedom was exalted before an astonished world.

General Gage, having been informed that the agents of the provincial government had purchased a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and deposited them at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, conceived the design of sending a few companies to destroy them; and, as many believed, at the same time, to take John Hancock and Samuel Adams. To insure the success of the expedition, General Gage acted with great caution and profound secrecy. He ordered a number of officers to go, as if on a party of pleasure, on the 18th of April; dine at Cambridge, on the way to Concord, and then dispose themselves along the road in the night, to intercept any messengers that might be sent by the patriots to give their fellow-citizens notice of the impending danger. The governor, at the same time, gave orders that none of the inhabitants should be allowed to leave the town.

The troops, commanded by Colonel Smith, were embarked at Boston, at 11 o'clock at night, on the 18th; conveyed in boats up the Charles river, to a place called Phipp's Farm, where they landed in the night, and proceeded on their march to Concord, taking every precaution to prevent the people of the country from being apprized of their march, even securing such persons as they met in their route.

Notwithstanding all their precautions, the provincials, having their eyes open, could see just as far into a military movement as General Gage, the king's governor. The Bostonians had already warned Adams and Hancock to retire from danger; and Doctor Warren, one of the leaders among the patriots, discovering the scheme, had despatched messengers to Lexington, a town on the road leading to Concord. Some of these messengers were forbidden to pass the officers stationed along the road, but others eluded their vigilance and made their way to Lexington. The secret was divulged, and intelligence spread, as rapidly as *sound* could carry it, by

the ringing of the bells and firing of cannon; and it was in the midst of this tumultuous uproar that the British troops had embarked at Boston.

Major Pitcairne, who led the vanguard of Smith's detachment, reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 19th. On their approach, the provincials hastily assembled under arms, to the number of about 70, on a green adjoining the road. As Pitcairne approached, he vociferated, "Disperse, rebels; lay down your arms and disperse." The people not immediately obeying his orders, he rushed from the ranks, fired a pistol, brandished his sword à la Hudibras, and ordered the soldiers to fire on this little party of men. Eight were killed and several wounded. They retreated, but, as the firing was continued by the English, the retreating party faced about and returned it.

In the meantime, Hancock and Adams defeated one of the probable objects of the expedition, by retiring from the enemy; and as they did so, the latter exclaimed, "Oh! what an ever-glorious morning is this!" The cry of blood thus ruthlessly spilt, he looked upon as a prelude to events that would, in the end, secure the freedom and happiness of his country; and his soul expanded as he reflected over that patriotism that had just raised some of his countrymen superior to the terrors of death, and made them willing sacrifices to their country. These were the thoughts, and not an unfeeling indifference to the fate of others, that drew from the enraptured heart of that great man the ever-memorable exclamation, "Oh! what an ever-glorious morning is this!"

The soldiers now marched on to Concord. Here the militia again assembled upon a hill, near the entrance of the town; but when they saw the number of the enemy, and the light infantry ascending the hill, while the grenadiers continued on the direct road to Concord, they fell back, crossed a bridge north of the town, where they intended to wait for reinforcements; but these not arriving in time, the light infantry assailed them with great fury, and drove them back. The grenadiers, at the same time, were engaged in destroying the

military stores of Concord. They threw into the river, and into wells, 500 pounds of bullets; spiked two pieces of cannon, and wasted some flour.

The minute-men now arrived, and with the militia who had retreated over the bridge, and

"———————— who
Knew when and how to cut and come again;"

returned—advanced boldly to the bridge, where a sharp action ensued across the river; but the purpose of the expedition being executed, the British troops retreated precipitately towards Boston, their minds probably filled with sentiments something like the following:

"———— 'God save the king!' and kings—
For if *he* do n't, I doubt if *men* will longer—
I think I hear a little bird, who sings,
The people by and by will be the stronger."

No sooner had the British commenced their retreat from Concord, than the volunteers, minute-men, and militia, still pouring in from all parts of the neighbouring country, and posting themselves behind trees, walls, hedges, and in the houses, constantly annoyed the enemy in flank and rear, driving them on like a flock of sheep, until they got back to Lexington.

A reinforcement despatched by Governor Gage, consisting of sixteen companies, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of Lord Percy, arrived at Lexington at the same moment that the British troops entered the town on the opposite side, with an exasperated people at their backs, who, but for this reinforcement, would have cut the enemy to pieces or made them prisoners.

A *loyalist* historian says that "Lord Percy now formed his detachment into a square, in which he enclosed Colonel Smith's party, who were so much exhausted with fatigue, that they were obliged to lie down for rest on the ground; *their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase.*" We are not prepared to say how this unpoetical comparison and rather equivocal eulogium was received.

However, after the British got their tongues in again, which no doubt they did after a rest, the two detachments, forming a junction, resumed their retreat towards Boston, harassed the whole way by the Americans. Although the rear-guard of the enemy was protected by the cannon, which repressed the impetuosity of the provincials, their flanks and front were exposed to an incessant fire. The Americans loaded in the woods, behind trees, hedges, or houses, ran to cross-roads and other places where, from their knowledge of the country, they knew the British had to pass, came on them unexpectedly, fired, hid themselves, loaded, came out and fired again, honouring the *officers* with their particular attention.

Overwhelmed with fatigue and suffering, the king's troops, amounting to nearly 2000, arrived in Charlestown about sunset, after travelling thirty-five miles that day; oppressed with heat, almost suffocated and blinded by the dust, and, above all, exposed to a rather discordant prelude to the opening war of the Revolution. The following day they crossed over to Boston. The British loss during this harassing march was, 65 killed, 136 wounded, and 49 missing. The loss of the provincials amounted to 88 killed, wounded, and missing.

The indignation of the British officers and soldiers was unbounded after passing through this fiery ordeal of "*an undisciplined flock of Yankees*," as they contemptuously called the people.

The news of the affair at Lexington rapidly spread; the war-cry rung through the land, and

"Fell on the soul like drops of flame,"

arousing the hardy sons of freedom in the north and the south to manly resistance. They felt an honest pride that their slanderers and oppressors had been obliged to turn their backs, after all their ridiculous boasting, and take refuge behind the walls of a city; and having just driven them *into* Boston, they now spoke of driving them *out* of that town. The *morale* of the Americans was raised to a high degree, and to keep the lighted torch of war in a full blaze, the obsequies of the slain were celebrated with every mark of honour;

eulogies were pronounced upon them as the *martyrs of liberty*, and they were constantly spoken of as models to be imitated by others.

The provincial Congress of Massachusetts, now in session at Watertown, ten miles from Boston, addressed a letter to the people of England, with depositions to prove that the royal troops were the aggressors. In conclusion, they affirmed their irrevocable and high resolve to resist every form of tyranny; and appealing to Heaven for the justice of their cause, they were *determined to die or be free.*

The Congress also resolved that a levy should be made in the province of 13,600 men, and chose for their general, Colonel Ward, an officer of much reputation, who had served in the provincial regiments during the late war. The provincials of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were also in motion; headed by General Putnam, Colonel Stark, and General Green, respectively. The first of these had served in the two late wars, where he had shown talent and courage. The militia poured in so fast, that an army of 30,000 was soon assembled, forming an encampment of twelve miles in extent, reaching from the river Mystic on the left to Roxbury on the right, enclosing Boston in the centre. General Ward, with the main body of about 9,000 troops, and four companies of artillery, occupied Cambridge, at which he had fixed his head-quarters; while all the points of high land, the farms, and the main roads, were carefully defended. Lieutenant-General Thomas, whom the provincial Congress had appointed second in command, with 5000 troops, occupied Roxbury and Dorchester. He was distinguished for talents, patriotism, and military reputation. The other officers were stationed at various places along this extended line.

And now, ye hirelings of a narrow-minded bigot, what think you of the provincials? These are the *rebels;* the unworthy, mean-spirited cowards; the contemptible militia of an insurgent people! These are the men you would have intimidated with the pageantry of regal, parliamentary, and military power! Look to your humbled position—closely

besieged by that same people, who now scorn your tottering power, and who, appealing from tyranny to God, are proud of the noble, the grand, the sublime death of the patriot. Look to your crouching *lion*,—the *eagle* will yet flap his wings in triumph over his mangled carcass, and the good and the wise in other countries will hail the happy omen of a world liberated from the thraldom of ages.

"——— The bright day is dawning, when the West
No more shall crouch before old England's crest;
When men who claim thy birthright, Liberty,
Shall burst their leading-strings, and dare be free;
Nor, while they boast thy blessings, *trembling stand*
Like dastard slaves before her, *cap in hand*."

CHAPTER III.

Warlike Preparations throughout the Colonies—Ticonderoga and Crown Point taken—Taking of Skeenesborough and Garrison.

"In the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress."

"——————— Why, take it;
I'm all submission; what you'd have it, make it."

While the theatre of war was in the vicinity of Boston, other provinces were making active preparations for doing their part.

The city of New York, where the English had the most friends, and which had hitherto manifested such reserve, became enthusiastic in the common cause with the colonies, after the battle of Lexington. The inhabitants adopted the resolutions of the general Congress: military training was commenced and steadily pursued; the arms and ammunition deposited in the royal magazines were seized; the women and children were removed from the seat of danger, and every preparation was made to defend themselves; and in case of failure it was resolved to *destroy the city by fire!* This threat perhaps had a tendency to bring over some of the *tories*, as the adherents of the king were called, since the time of the

"Boston port bill," to distinguish them from the *whigs*, who favoured the cause of Boston.

In South Carolina the people received the intelligence of the battle of Lexington with surprise and apprehension. Exposed to the formidable squadrons of Great Britain along their entire coast, 200 miles in length, without possessing arms and ammunition themselves, placed them in a very critical situation, especially as their own slaves might be bribed to massacre their masters. The people, however, were not to be intimidated by their unfavourable position, but on the night subsequent to the advice of the hostilities at Lexington, they rushed to the arsenal, took all the arms and ammunition, and distributed them among the soldiers in the pay of the province. A provincial Congress was convoked, where it was resolved that the Carolinas be united for the defence of their country, and that they were ready to march, whenever and wherever the Congress, whether general or provincial, should judge necessary.

In New Jersey troops were levied, and the provincial treasure was taken possession of by the people to pay these troops.

Maryland was in motion. The military stores and public magazines at Baltimore were taken by the people, in which, among other things, they found 1500 muskets.

The inhabitants of Philadelphia passed such resolutions as they deemed best calculated to defend the common cause, notwithstanding the tardy movements of the Quakers, with their pacific ideas. The spirit, however, moved even them at last to lean on the side of the provincials. It may here be remarked that "The Assembly of Pennsylvania, convened about the close of the year 1774, was the first constitutional authority which ratified, formally, all the acts of Congress, and elected deputies for the ensuing. A convention having soon after been formed in this province, it was therein declared that, if the petition of Congress was rejected, and the government should persist in attempting to execute by force the late arbitrary acts of Parliament, it would then be requisite to resist also with open force, and defend, at all hazards,

the rights and liberties of America. Not content with words, this Assembly recommended that provisions should be made of salt, *gunpowder, saltpetre, iron, steel,* and other munitions of war. Charles Thomson, and Thomas, afterwards General Mifflin, both men of great influence in the province, and much distinguished for their intellectual endowments, were very active on the occasion, and by their exertions the resolutions of the convention were executed with singular promptitude and vigour."

The provincial Congress of Virginia, convened in the month of March, had recommended that volunteers should be raised in each county. The governor, Lord Dunmore, at these proceedings became exceedingly indignant; and apprehending the people intended to take possession of the public magazine at Williamsburg, he had all the powder conveyed on board an armed vessel, anchored in James river, in the night. The people, violently exasperated, flew to arms, but the municipal council interposing, succeeded in repressing the tumult and restoring tranquillity.

The barbarous menaces of the governor to arm the blacks against their masters, and to destroy the city, spread the spirit of resistance anew like a mighty conflagration through the colony. Meetings were held in all the counties, where the conduct and menaces of the governor were denounced with great asperity; and in the county of Hanover and around it, the people took up arms, and, commanded by Patrick Henry, one of the delegates of the general Congress, marched against the city of Williamsburg to demand restitution of the powder, and to secure the public treasury against the attempts of the governor. After some of these volunteers had arrived in the suburbs of the city, a parley was opened—tranquillity was restored for the present, and the people returned to their homes.

The governor now resorted to the usual plan of tyrants or their agents for supporting a sinking power against reason and justice. He fortified his palace as strongly as possible, placed a garrison of marines within, and surrounded it with artillery! From this palace, prison, or fortification, his lord-

ship issued a proclamation, declaring Henry and his followers *rebels*, and attributed the present commotions to the disaffection of the people. These were certainly not the most prudent measures to conciliate the good will of an insulted community.

The inhabitants of Connecticut, not satisfied with mere legislation, undertook a very important enterprise. Expecting the war to continue, and knowing the importance of occupying the fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, they resolved to take them by surprise.

The first of these, standing on Lake Champlain, near the north end of Lake George, upon the frontier, at the very entrance of Canada; and the other near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, form the *gates* or *keys* of that province; and whoever occupied these posts could prevent all communication between it and the colonies. It was also known that the fortresses, though furnished with a very numerous artillery, of which the Americans were much in need, were left to the charge of a feeble detachment, the Governor of Canada not apprehending any danger. To strike such a bold blow, successfully, in the first warlike operations, would also have the effect of stimulating the ardour of the people.

The troops were assembled at Castleton, on the great road to Ticonderoga, under the command of Colonel Ethan Allen. The greater number coming from the Green Mountains, called themselves *Green Mountain Boys*. Colonel Benedict Arnold, a man possessed of extraordinary genius and an intrepidity which at times almost resembled madness, had actually conceived the same plan. He had conferred with the committee of safety of Massachusetts, who appointed him Colonel, and gave him authority to levy soldiers. When Arnold arrived at Castleton, he was very much surprised to find himself anticipated; but determined to have a fight, at all events, he placed himself under the command of Colonel Allen, and they proceeded to execute their enterprise.

Posting sentinels upon the roads, the commanders of the fortresses did not receive intelligence of their approach. If this precaution had been neglected, reinforcements would

have been drawn from the neighbouring fortress of St. John. Arriving at lake Champlain in the night, opposite Ticonderoga, Allen and Arnold crossed over to the other bank, near the fortress. At day-break, while the garrison was yet asleep, they entered by the covered way, arrived upon the esplanade, raised a deafening shout of victory, and made all the noise and uproar in their power. The soldiers of the garrison started up from their sleep, and immediately commenced firing. A scuffle took place, but the British commander appearing, Allen demanded the fort. "By what authority?" asked the commander. "In the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress," said Allen. Such a startling declaration might have overawed Cerberus himself. The effect was the obedience of the summons, and the surrender of the fort, with all its stores. Allen did not act under the *authority* of the Continental Congress, though he took the fort in its *name*. He acted under the authority of the state of Connecticut alone. The Americans obtained at this fort, 120 pieces of brass cannon, several howitzers and mortars, 1 cohorn, bombs, 10 tons of musket balls, 3 cart-loads of flints, 30 new carriages, 30 barrels of flour, and 18 of pork, &c.

Crown Point was taken soon after, without difficulty, where over 100 pieces of artillery were found.

With a view to control the lake, our heroes armed a schooner, the command of which was given to Arnold, while Allen was to bring on his men upon flat-boats, to take the only ship of the royal navy then on the lake, and which the English kept at anchor near fort St. John. Arnold, with a favourable wind, soon left the boats in the rear, and coming alongside of the British ship, he took possession of it without resistance, and returned with his prize to Ticonderoga.

Allen, also, surprised and took Skeenesborough, with its garrison. Having appointed Arnold to command the fortresses in chief, Allen returned to Connecticut.

If we felt disposed continually to remind the reader of our promise to give the war maxims of *our* heroes practically, we might here say, for Allen and Arnold, secrecy, despatch, and

intrepid courage, are the commencement of victory. These were the principles by which they were governed in these successful enterprises.

CHAPTER IV.

Investment of Boston continued—Scarcity of Provisions—Reinforcement of Troops under Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne—Two Plans to extricate themselves—Both defeated—Battle of Breed's Hill—Letter of General Gage—Observations in Opposition Papers in London—Eulogium on Dr. Warren.

"——— And darest thou then
To beard the lion in his den,
The Douglass in his hall?"

"As the noise of the troubled ocean when roll the waves on high, as the last peal of thundering heaven, such is the noise of battle. Though Cormac's hundred bards were there, feeble were the voice of a hundred bards to send the deaths to future times; for many were the deaths of the heroes, and wide poured the blood of the valiant."

The close investment of Boston by the provincials, and their exertions to intercept from the English all supplies of provisions, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes upon Noddle's and Hog Islands, both situated in the harbour of Boston, and to which the British frequently went in quest of provisions. These islands abounding in forage and cattle, the provincials resolved to destroy the one, and drive off the other. The royalists, who were fighting for subsistence, made a most vigorous resistance, but without any other effect than inspiring the Americans with greater confidence in themselves. The garrison of Boston, already suffering for want of food, felt the effects of these daring enterprises of the besiegers with peculiar severity.

The besiegers hoped that by such proceedings the governor would be compelled to consent to the departure of the inhabitants of Boston, who had no other resource but from the magazines of the king; but the governor considering the people as so many hostages for the safety of his garrison, would not even allow the women and children to leave the city; apprehensive that after their removal the Americans

might attempt to carry the place by assault. Pressed by necessity, however, General Gage at last acceded to an arrangement by which the citizens were allowed to retire from the city with their effects, provided they first deposited their *arms* in Faneuil Hall. They now commenced moving out of the city, but the governor, either unwilling to deprive himself entirely of hostages, or alarmed at the rumour that the insurgents intended to fire the city, soon began to refuse passes. It has been said that in granting passports to some and not to others, he studied to divide families; separating husbands from their wives, fathers from their children, brothers from each other. Such cruelty, if true, needs no comment. Those affected with small-pox were allowed to depart, as many supposed, with the barbarous intention of spreading the contagious disease among the *rebels!* We hope, however, for the sake of human nature, that the spreading of this formidable disease throughout the province, was rather the result of ignorance or culpable neglect on the part of the governor, than any malicious intention.

At the time of the battle of Lexington, the number of troops in Boston amounted to 4000, but about the end of May and beginning of June, the reinforcements expected by General Gage arrived at Boston, with the distinguished Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, to command them; increasing the army to 12,000 men.

Encouraged by this accession of strength, burning with indignation at the thought that the soldiers of the king of England, renowned for their brilliant achievements, were now imprisoned in a city by those who had already made them turn their backs and seek safety in flight; and being moreover alarmed at the increasing scarcity of food, the English troops were exceedingly desirous of proving their great superiority over the *herds* of American militia. The provincials investing Boston, full of ardour and courage, inspired by a righteous cause and preceding successes, were no less eager for the hour of battle to arrive.

The English generals now began to deliberate upon the most expedient plan of extricating themselves from this dan-

gerous position. The situation of Boston naturally suggested two ways by which they might issue from the city into the country.

But before we proceed, it will be necessary to aid the imagination of the reader by a brief sketch of the relative situations of Boston and Charlestown, in the latter of which was fought the sanguinary and ever-memorable battle of Bunker's Hill, as it is called, though the battle was really fought on Breed's Hill.

There are two peninsulas; on the one we have Boston, on the other, Charlestown. That of Charlestown has the shape of a pear, the stem uniting it to the mainland, while the end extends towards the harbour. Breed's Hill and Bunker's Hill swell out from its surface. The first of these overlooks Charlestown, and constitutes that part of the peninsula nearest to Boston, from which it is separated by the Charles river. Bunker's Hill is situated farther from Boston, towards Charlestown Neck. The Mystic or Medford river, on the north, washes the farther shore of this peninsula.

"———— brevity is very good
When we are, or are not understood."

We are fully satisfied, after a careful examination of the singular location of Boston and Charlestown, that this short sketch is sufficient in a military point of view, and that a more minute account would only create confusion. If the reader ever visits Boston (if he has not done so already), let him go up into the tower of the State House. The janitor will furnish you with a very small *map* (that points out nothing), to enable you to understand the *reality*.

The two ways by which the British might leave Boston are now very obvious; one, to sally from Boston Neck and attack the American entrenchments at Roxbury; the other, was to cross the Charles river, traverse that peninsula, pass out by its isthmus or neck, and dislodge the enemy from the heights near the Mystic river. This will demonstrate the propriety of the Americans extending their encampment from Roxbury to this river.

General Gage had for some time intended to attempt the

first plan. By issuing from the strong fortifications of Boston Neck, he could calculate upon a safe retreat in case he was defeated. Secrecy, so essential to insure success in military movements, was, certainly, not favoured by the detention of the Bostonians in their city, especially as many carried news to the American army by *swimming* across the rivers, and in small boats. The plan of the general, by some means, was made known to the Americans, who strengthened their entrenchments with parapets and palisades; concentrated their artillery and reinforced this part of the army. These dreadful notes of preparation turned the attention of the English to the Neck of Charlestown. Again the secret was divulged, and strenuous endeavours were quickly made to defeat the new project of the enemy, who had intended to fortify Bunker's Hill, on the 18th of June.

On Friday, June 16th, General Ward issued orders to Colonels William Prescott and Bridge, and to the commandant of Colonel Frye's regiment, to have their men ready for immediate service. These were all farmers, habituated to hard labour in the sun. A company of artillery, and 120 men from the Connecticut regiment, under the command of Captain Knowlton, were included in the order. Colonel Gridley was chief engineer. About 9 o'clock in the evening, a detachment of 1000 men moved from Cambridge, and passed silently over Charlestown Neck; but instead of fortifying the heights of Bunker's Hill, Colonel Prescott, with two sergeants carrying dark lanterns leading the way, advanced to Breed's Hill, where he entrenched himself by the rules of art.

Whether the colonel was determined to beard the lion in his den, or whether his fortifying Breed's Hill was really a *mistake*, as subsequently spoken of in an account of the battle, prepared by the Massachusetts Congress, we shall not attempt to decide. It is certain, however, that he placed the garrison of Boston in the most imminent danger, and reduced himself and the enemy to the necessity of coming to action without delay.

When the detachment had passed the neck, it was for some time undecided as to the position to be taken. Time, how-

ever, was too precious for long deliberation. The engineer again and again most earnestly warned the officers that longer delay would defeat all their operations, and when the clock struck twelve the work was commenced on Breed's Hill, and carried on with the most astonishing ardour and enthusiasm. What is most surprising is, that although the peninsula was almost surrounded with ships of war and transports, the Americans worked so silently, that they were not heard. A guard was stationed on the Charlestown shore nearest to Boston to prevent surprise; and Prescott himself went there and heard from the enemy's sentries, when relieving guard, the cry, "All's well." He returned to the hill, and, after a short interval, thinking it could not be possible that the enemy were so dull of hearing, he went to the shore a second time, and finding all quiet, withdrew the guard, to make use of their *hands* instead of their *ears*, and employed them on the works.

The entrenchments consisted of a redoubt and a breastwork, formed entirely of the earth thrown up by the spade. The redoubt was eight rods square, and the breastwork nearly four hundred feet long.

About 4 o'clock in the morning, at break of day, the alarm was given at Boston, by a cannonade upon the American works from the ship of war Lively. The English generals could hardly credit their senses on finding that the provincials had anticipated them in an enterprise upon which they had deliberately decided; and their energies were, for a time, almost paralyzed with amazement. But no time was to be lost. The provincials were still at work with untiring industry; and as the height of Breed's Hill commands Boston, the city was no longer tenable, if they were allowed time to erect a battery upon this eminence.

A few moments before the action, Dr. Joseph Warren, a man of great authority and universally beloved, arrived with some reinforcements. He had been appointed general on the 14th, but had not yet taken his commission. He served, therefore, as a volunteer. General Pomeroy, old as he was, borrowed a horse from General Ward, at Cambridge, to has-

ten to the scene of action; but when he arrived at Charlestown Neck, apprehensive that the hot fire which raked it might prove fatal to the borrowed horse, he gave him into the care of a sentry and went on foot to the field of strife, where he was received by the Connecticut troops, to whom his form and countenance were well known, with the most enthusiastic applause. General Putnam directed in chief, holding himself ready to repair to any place where his presence was wanted.

The dreadful preparations are witnessed by thousands of people on the neighbouring hills, steeples, and roofs of the houses, with the most intense anxiety. The British open a general fire of the artillery of Boston, of the fleet, and of the floating batteries stationed around the Boston peninsula. The terrible roar of the artillery shakes the dwellings far and near, and echoes over earth and sea; the air is filled with fire, smoke and dust; the bombs and balls fall upon the American works as thunderbolts hurled from the sky amid some unwonted and direful tempest; but still the sons of freedom continue their works with unshaken constancy and unabating courage, perfectly consistent with the motto inscribed upon their banners; on one side of which they had these words, "*An Appeal to Heaven*," and on the other the motto of the State of Connecticut, "*Qui transtulit sustinet*," He who has brought us hither, preserves and supports us. This was the motto of their fathers after they had fled from tyranny to a place of refuge, and they themselves now confided in the protection of that same Providence. Hour after hour passed away, which still found the Americans, almost overcome with the excessive heat and fatigue, labour incessantly, though

"——————— fast and hot
Against them pour'd the ceaseless shot,
With unabating fury sent;
* * * * * * *
And thunder-like the pealing din
Rose from each heated culverin;
And here and there some crackling dome
Was fired before the exploding bomb:

And as the fabric sank beneath
The shattering shell's volcanic breath,
In red and wreathing columns flash'd
The flame, as loud the ruin crash'd;
Or into countless meteors driven,
Its earth-stars melted into heaven;
Whose clouds that day grew doubly dun,
Impervious to the hidden sun,
With volumed smoke, that slowly grew
To one wide sky of sulphurous hue."

This all *ended* in smoke, and the British generals were convinced that there remained no other hope of driving the Americans from their formidable position but by assault.

"Never was horde of tyrants met
With bloodier welcome—never yet
To patriot vengeance hath the sword
More terrible libations pour'd!"

The British troops were put in motion; and the American officers reflected that the trench of their left wing, extending towards the Mystic river, did not reach that river, and that here was their most vulnerable place. They resolved to obstruct this passage by two parallel palisades of fence-rails, and fill up the interval between them with hay lately mown, and yet on the field. Prescott, who had frequently mounted the works, with his bald head uncovered, and his commanding form, seemed a true personification of patriotism. He infused a new spirit into men already full of heroic energy. When he ordered a guard to the ferry to prevent a landing, he was seen by General Gage, who was reconnoitring from Copp's Hill, in Boston. "Who is that officer, commanding?" inquired Gage of Counsellor Willard, by his side. The answer was, "Colonel Prescott;" who, in fact, was Willard's brother-in-law. "Will he fight?" asked Gage. "Yes, sir," said the other, "depend upon it, to the last drop of blood in him; but I cannot answer for his men." His men, however, soon answered for themselves.

At noon, the British troops, about 4000 in number, left Boston, and approached the peninsula in barges, formed in two parallel lines, and landed at Moreton's Point without

meeting resistance, as the fire of artillery protected the debarcation, by forcing the Americans to keep within their entrenchments. The enemy advanced slowly against the redoubt and trench, with their bright firelocks and bayonets glittering in the sun, halting from time to time for the artillery to come up, to injure the works previous to the assault. Nearer and nearer they came, in terrible array, commanded by Generals Howe and Pigot; Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn, Short, Small, and Lord Rawdon, &c.

As the Americans had no powder and balls to waste, the officers commanded their men to suffer the enemy to approach within eight rods of the works before they commenced firing. The men could scarcely be restrained, and a few discharged their guns. Prescott, in a rage at this disobedience, vowed vengeance to the next who should act contrary to his orders; promising, at the same time, to give the command at the proper time. His lieutenant-colonel, Robinson, mounted the works, and ran round on the top, knocking up the muskets levelled at the enemy. The orders to fire were now given. The Americans took deliberate aim, and one continuous blaze made frightful havoc, and soon crimsoned the tall grass with the life-blood of hundreds of the enemy. The front rank was almost annihilated, and as others took the place of the slain, their own blood soon swelled the dreadful tide around them. Some of the Americans fired incessantly, while others loaded for them, thus giving a dreadful facility to mow down the approaching enemy. Some of the wounded were seen crawling, with the last energies of life, from the gory heaps of the dead and the dying, among whom the officers bore the greatest proportion. The ranks of the assailants being thinned and broken, they fled in disorder to their place of landing, and some rushed headlong into the boats. The field was covered with the slain. The shouts of victory now inspired the souls of men with new and unwonted zeal for their sacred cause, while they fell upon the ears of the British as harbingers of death and disgrace.

The venerable Mr. Thaxtor, a clergyman, still knelt on the

battle-field, with his hands raised to heaven; his grey head exposed to the heat of the sun, and the bullets hissing around him. He prayed fervently to God for the delivery of his country.

"It was an hour of fear and dread:
High rose the battle-cry,
And round, in heavy volumes, spread
The war-cloud to the sky,

'Twas not as when, in rival strength,
Contending nations meet,
Or love of conquest madly hurls
A monarch from his seat:

But many a warm-cemented tie
Was riven in anguish wild,
Ere with a foeman's vengeful eye
The parent met the child.

O'er the green hill's beleaguer'd breast
Swept on the conflict high,
And many a gallant leader press'd
The trampled turf, to die.

Yet one was there, unused to tread
The path of mortal strife,
Who but the Saviour's flock had led
Beside the fount of life.

He knelt him where the black smoke wreathed;
His head was bow'd and bare,
While, for an infant land, he breathed
The agony of prayer.

The shafts of death flew thick and fast,
'Mid shrieks of ire and pain;
Wide waved his white locks on the blast,
And round him fell the slain.

Yet still, with fervency intense,
He press'd the endanger'd spot,
The selfish thought, the shrinking sense,
O'ermaster'd and forgot.

'Twould seem as if a marble form,
Wrought in some quarried height,
Were fix'd amid the battle-storm,
Save that the eye was bright—

Save that the deeply-heaving breast,
The hand, upraised in air,
The mute, yet moving lip, express'd
That strong life wrestled there.

Then loud, upon their native soil,
Peal'd forth the victors' cry,
And, thinn'd beneath the desperate toil,
The wearied host swept by.

But, 'mid that new and fierce delight,
Oh! chiefs of other days!
Gave ye your falchions broad and bright,
Your own right arms the praise?

Or thought ye still how many a prayer,
Amid the deathful fray,
From cottage homes and hearts of care,
Upheld your host that day?

The column, red with early morn,
May tower o'er Bunker's height,
And proudly tell a race unborn
Their patriot fathers' might:—

But thou, oh! patriarch, old and grey,
Thou prophet of the free,
Who knelt amid the dead that day,
What fame shall rise to thee?

It is not meet that brass or stone,
Which feel the touch of time,
Should keep the record of a faith
That woke thy deed sublime:

We trace it on a tablet fair,
Which glows when stars are pale,
A promise that the good man's prayer
Shall with his God prevail."

The British officers were running in every direction after the repulse, with promises, exhortations, and with threats, attempting to rally the scattered troops for a second attack. General Howe sent orders to Burgoyne and Clinton, (who were on Copp's Hill, in Boston, from which a fire of artillery had been kept up during the day,) to fire Charlestown. One object of Howe probably was, that the fire and smoke might

cover his advance; another, to dislodge the Americans who had taken shelter there, and had annoyed the British left wing. Carcasses are thrown from Copp's Hill into the fated town, which is soon enveloped in flames, which, excited by the wind, spread rapidly into a fearful conflagration.

The British having again advanced near the entrenchments, the Americans, who as before, had reserved their fire until it could take full effect, showered another volley of bullets on the enemy. "To the volleys of musketry and the roar of cannon; to the shouts of the fighting and the groans of the dying; to the dark and awful atmosphere of smoke, enveloping the whole peninsula, and illumined in every quarter by the streams of fire from the various instruments of death; the conflagration of six hundred buildings added a gloomy and amazing grandeur. In the midst of this waving lake of flame, the lofty steeple, converted into a blazing pyramid, towered and trembled over the vast pyre, and finished the scene of desolation." Overwhelmed and routed, the British again fled to their landing. A second time the shouts of victory ascended to the skies, while joy reigned triumphant in every patriotic breast.

"The hot air shakes! the mountains jar!
As echo rolls the din afar,
Through all their startled caves.
Hark that fierce shout!—the field is won!
Awakes the breeze,—out bursts the sun!
Whose banners catch his glowing dyes,
As back the driven war-cloud flies!
Freedom!—what host from vengeance flies!
A despot's beaten slaves!"

The fire of the artillery and musketry ceased for a time; the suffocating smoke rolled away, disclosing an awful spectacle to the soldiers and the swarms of spectators of every rank, age, and sex, on the houses, the hills, and the circumjacent fields. They heard the agonizing yells, the piercing shrieks, the prayers and invocations, the oaths and imprecations of the wounded, mingled in horrible discord, more direful than the noise of battle itself.

The British, after these terrible defeats, were placed in a woful dilemma: to allow the Americans to remain would not only be a tacit acknowledgment of their superiority, but, as already stated, render the city untenable; and to retreat in their armed vessels, of which they had about thirty in Boston harbour, even if their pride could bend to such a humiliating measure, prudence would forbid, as severely injuring the *morale* of their army, while it greatly improved that of the provincials. To march up to the American redoubt to be shot down, was the other horn of the dilemma. Some of the British officers actually began to remonstrate against leading the men to another butchery, but their remonstrances were disdainfully repelled by the others.

General Clinton, on seeing the ill fortune of his troops, had passed over from Copp's Hill to their assistance. He re-established order, and, supported by the other officers, who felt the importance of success, he led the troops to a third attack. The result of this would, unquestionably, have been the same as before, but unfortunately for the Americans, their ammunition was nearly exhausted. Their fire languished and died away, while the enemy arrived at the foot of the redoubt. The muskets of the Americans being destitute of bayonets, *they used the butt-end of them to defend themselves!* This unexampled resistance was a sublime demonstration of the *moral* force of men determined to be free. But as the redoubt was already full of enemies, to continue the battle any longer would be folly rather than courage. The signal of retreat was given, and our heroic fathers retired. The only way to leave the peninsula was by the same isthmus over which they had entered. This was incessantly raked by the balls of a ship of war and two floating batteries. The Americans, however, passed over the neck without sustaining much injury, and joined the main army. Prescott repaired to head-quarters to make return of his trust, at the same time imploring General Ward to commit to him three fresh regiments, and he would *win back the field.* But he was told that he had already honourably accomplished all that his country could demand.

In this engagement the enemy lost 226 killed (among whom was Major Pitcairne, who first lighted the torch of war at Lexington) and 828 wounded. The Americans lost 139 killed, and 314 were wounded and missing. Among the killed was the lamented General Warren, president of the provincial Congress, and chairman of the committee of safety, which exercised the executive power of the province of Massachusetts. He was killed during the retreat. Despising all danger, he placed himself before the ranks to rally his corps by his example, and make the retreat in safety. An English officer, who knew the doctor, borrowed a musket of one of his soldiers, took deliberate aim and killed him instantly. "Warren was one of those men who are more attached to liberty than to existence, but not more ardently the friend of freedom, than foe to avarice and ambition. He was endowed with a solid judgment, a happy genius, and a brilliant eloquence. In all private affairs, his opinion was reputed authority, and in all public councils, a decision. Friends and enemies, equally knowing his fidelity and rectitude in all things, reposed in him a confidence without limits. Opposed to the wicked, without hatred; propitious to the good, without adulation; affable, courteous, and humane towards each, he was beloved with reverence by all, and respected by envy itself. Though in his person somewhat spare, his figure was peculiarly agreeable. He mourned, at this epoch, the recent loss of a wife, by whom he was tenderly beloved, and whom he cherished with reciprocal affection. In dying so gloriously for his country, on this memorable day, he left several orphans, still in childhood; but a grateful country assumed the care of their education. Thus was lost to the state, and to his family, in so important a crisis, and in the vigour of his days, a man equally qualified to excel in council or in the field."

The results of this battle were the same as a decided victory, upon the *minds of a people* who must conquer by *moral* force. They found out that the enemy were not invulnerable; and this encouraged them to continued resistance.

The British, because they took the *field*, claimed the victory,

but they might have exclaimed with Pyrrhus, "If we gain such another, we are inevitably ruined."

The following extract of a letter from General Gage to Lord Dartmouth, may serve to give an idea of the effect the battle produced on the minds of the British:

"The success, of which I send your lordship an account by the present opportunity, was very necessary in our present situation, and I wish, most sincerely, that it had not cost us so dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater than our forces can afford to lose. The officers, who were obliged to exert themselves, have suffered very much, and we have lost some extremely good officers. The trials we have had, show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be; and I find it owing to a military spirit, encouraged among them for a few years past, *joined with an uncommon degree of zeal and enthusiasm*, that they are otherwise. When they find cover, they make a good stand, and the country, naturally strong, affords it to them; and they are taught to assist its natural strength by art, *for they entrench and raise batteries.* [!] They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, from Dorchester to Medford or Mystick, and it is not impossible for them to annoy the town.

"Your lordship will perceive that the conquest of this country is not easy, and can be effected only by time and perseverance, and strong armies attacking it in various quarters, and dividing their forces. Confining your operations on this side only, is attacking in the strongest part, and you have to cope with vast numbers. It might naturally be supposed that troops, of the nature of the rebel army, would return home after such a check as they had got; and I hear many wanted to go off, but care has been taken to prevent it; for any man that returns home without a pass is immediately seized and sent back to his regiment. In all their wars against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverance as they do now. I think it my duty to let your lordship know the true situation of affairs, that administration may take measures accordingly.

"The people's minds are kept so much heated and inflamed, that they are always ripe for everything that is extravagant. Truth is kept from them, and they are too full of prejudice to believe it, if laid before them, and so blind and bigoted, that they cannot see that they have exchanged *liberty* for *tyranny*. [!] No people were ever governed more absolutely than those of the American provinces now are, and no reason can be given for their submission, but that it is a tyranny they have erected themselves, as they believe, to avoid greater evils."

The following observations on the government account of the action near Charlestown, were published in an opposition paper in London.

"There are two sorts of persons who always persevere uniformly, and without shame, in one unvaried line of conduct, regardless of the contempt and detestation of mankind. The sorts I mean are the thorough virtuous, and the thorough scoundrel.

"To one of these classes, most evidently, belong the ministers, who settled the account which they have given us in last Tuesday's Gazette.

"The action near Boston happened on the 17th of June, yet General Gage's letter is dated eight days after, on the 25th of June.

"By this letter it appears that it has cost one thousand and fifty-four of the troops, killed and wounded, to destroy a redoubt thrown up only the overnight, i. e., on the 16th of June. 'The loss of the provincials,' the letter says, 'must have been considerable;' yet, eight days after the action, the general, though completely victorious, can tell us only of 'one hundred' buried, and 'thirty' wounded.

"But 'they had carried off great numbers during the time of the action.' Did they so? That is no great sign of flight, confusion, and defeat.

"But 'they buried them in holes.' Really! why, are our soldiers buried in the air?

"But 'the king's troops were under every disadvantage.' So, truly, it seems; for, in the same letter, we are told 'that

they had a proportion of field-artillery, and landed on the peninsula without opposition, and formed, as soon as landed, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, by whose fire the rebels were kept within their works.'

"But 'this action has shown the superiority of the king's troops.' Has it, indeed? How? Why, they (with a proportion of field-artillery, and with the assistance of ships, armed vessels, and boats, and with the encouragement of certain and speedy reinforcements, if necessary) attacked and defeated 'above three times their own numbers.' What, three times their own numbers? Of whom, pray? Of French or Spanish regulars? No, of the Americans. Of the Americans! What, of those dastardly, hypocritical cowards, who (Lord Sandwich knows) do not feel bold enough to dare to look a soldier in the face? Of those undisciplined and spiritless Yankees, who were to be driven from one end of the continent to the other, with a single regiment? What, of those skulking assassins, who can only fire at a distance, from behind stone walls and hedges? Was it necessary to defeat these fellows, that the troops should be 'spirited' by the example of General Howe, assisted by General Clinton? And can it be, that Lieutenant-Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairne, and Short, should be forced to exert themselves remarkably against such poltroons?

"Good God! is it come to this at last? Can the regulars, with all these exertions, only defeat three times their own number of undisciplined cowards? and that, too, at the expense of one thousand and fifty-four (that is, more than one-half) killed and wounded, out of something above two thousand?

"Is every redoubt which the Americans can throw up in a short summer night to be demolished at this expense? How many such victories can we bear?

* * * * * * * * * *

"To be serious, I am, for my own part, convinced that the event of this execrable dragooning is decided; and that before winter, there will not be a single soldier of Lord Bute's

and Lord Mansfield's mercenary troops left upon the continent of America." * * * * * * *

The pathetic eulogiums pronounced on those that were slain in battle, had a powerful effect on the minds of the American people, as the reader may readily conceive on reading the following eulogium on Dr. Warren, published in a Philadelphia paper:

"What spectacle more noble than this, of a hero who has given his life for the safety of his country? Approach, cruel ministers, and contemplate the fruits of your sanguinary edicts. What reparation can you offer to his children for the loss of such a father, to the king for that of so good a subject, to the country for that of so devoted a citizen? Send hither your satellites; come, feast your vindictive rage; the most implacable enemy to tyrants is no more. We conjure you, respect these his honoured remains. Have compassion on the fate of a mother overwhelmed with despair and with age. Of him nothing is left that you can still fear. His eloquence is mute; his arms are fallen from his hand; then lay down yours; what more have you to perpetrate, barbarians that you are? But, while the name of American liberty shall live, that of Warren will fire our breasts, and animate our arms, against the pest of standing armies.

"Approach, senators of America! Come and deliberate here upon the interests of the United Colonies. Listen to the voice of this illustrious citizen; he entreats, he exhorts, he implores you not to disturb his present felicity with the doubt that he perhaps has sacrificed his life for a people of slaves.

"Come hither, ye soldiers, ye champions of American liberty, and contemplate a spectacle which should inflame your generous hearts with even a new motive to glory. Remember, his shade still hovers unexpiated among us. Ten thousand ministerial soldiers would not suffice to compensate his death. Let ancient ties be no restraint, foes of liberty are no longer the brethren of freemen. Give edge to your arms, and lay them not down till tyranny be expelled from the British empire; or America, at least, become the real seat of liberty and happiness.

"Approach ye, also, American fathers and American mothers; come hither, and contemplate the first-fruits of tyranny; behold your friend, the defender of your liberty, the honour, the hope of your country; see this illustrious hero, pierced with wounds, and bathed in his own blood. But let not grief, let not your tears be steril. *Go, hasten to your homes, and there teach your children to detest the deeds of tyranny;* lay before them the horrid scene you have beheld; let their hair stand on end; let their eyes sparkle with fire; let resentment kindle every feature; let their lips vent threats and indignation; then—then—put arms into their hands, send them to battle, and let your last injunction be, to return victorious, or to die, like Warren, in the arms of liberty and of glory!

"And ye, generations of the future, will often look back to this memorable epoch. You will transfer the names of traitors, and of rebels, from the faithful people of America to those who have merited them. Your eyes will penetrate all the iniquity of this scheme of despotism, recently plotted by the British government. You will see good kings misled by perfidious ministers, and virtuous ministers by perfidious kings. You will perceive, that if at first the sovereigns of Great Britain shed tears in commanding their subjects to accept atrocious laws, they soon gave themselves up to joy in the midst of murder, expecting to see the whole continent drenched in the blood of freemen. Oh! save the human race from the last outrages, and render a noble justice to the American colonies. Recall to life the ancient Roman and British eloquence, and be not niggardly of merited praises towards those who have bequeathed you liberty. It costs us floods of gold and of blood; it costs us, alas! the life of Warren."

CHAPTER V.

Meeting of second Continental Congress—Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American Army—Arrives at Cambridge—Reception by the Army—Other Acts of Congress to defend the Country—Expedition against Canada—Death of Montgomery—Troubles in Virginia—Flight of the Governor—Burning of Hampton and Norfolk.

"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, *This was a man!*"

"He was a man, take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again."

"Is my face pale with fear?
Why dost thou think to darken my soul with the tales of those who fell?"

"Warrior, we can fall, but we shall fall with renown."

On the 10th of May, the second Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia. As the Americans had now fairly embarked in a war against British oppression, it became necessary for Congress to turn their attention to the condition of the army that blockaded Boston.

All the generals then in command had received their authority from the colonial Assemblies, and therefore had no power to command an army in the name of the whole country. To appoint a commander-in-chief, possessed in a pre-eminent degree of prudence, firmness, and energy, who would stand up like a mighty Colossus against the most powerful nation on the earth, in defence of a people yet in their infancy, a Hercules in the cradle; a man, whose name and influence could gain the respect, and command the obedience of a people unaccustomed to military restraint; was a matter of deep and vital importance. The illustrious sages and patriots who composed this Congress, felt the responsibility. The welfare of the present and of future generations would, in a great measure, depend upon their selection.

On the 15th of June they proceeded to an election by ballot, when it was found that GEORGE WASHINGTON, a mem-

ber of their own body, from Virginia, was unanimously elected. Every nation and generation will always acknowledge the wisdom of this choice to insure success. The very nation against whom he contended successfully, have since graced their Encyclopedias with a faithful delineation of his illustrious qualities. The following description of the character of Washington, by Spark, is probably one of the most faithful that has been given: "It is the harmonious union of the intellectual and moral powers, rather than the splendour of any one trait, which constitutes the grandeur of his character. If the title of great man ought to be reserved for him, who cannot be charged with an indiscretion or a vice, who spent his life in establishing the independence, the glory, and durable prosperity of his country, who succeeded in all that he undertook, and whose successes were never won at the expense of honour, justice, integrity, or by the sacrifice of a single principle, this title will not be denied to Washington."

Naturally modest and reserved, when his election was announced by the president of Congress, he rose, and said that he returned his most cordial thanks to Congress, for the honour they had conferred upon him; "but," said he, "lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declared, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary considerations could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit by it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

On presenting his commission, Congress adopted a resolution: "that they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes in the cause of American liberty."

Desirous to have other experienced and distinguished

officers at the head of the army to assist Washington, Congress appointed Artemus Ward, first major-general; Charles Lee, second major-general; Philip Schuyler, third major-general; and Israel Putnam, fourth major-general; Horatio Gates was appointed adjutant-general. A few days after, eight brigadier-generals were appointed: Seth Pomeroy, William Heath, and John Thomas, of Massachusetts; Richard Montgomery, of New York; David Wooster and Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire, and Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island. The history of the subsequent achievements of these men forms the best commentary on the wisdom of Congress in their selection.

Fifteen days after he received his commission, Washington arrived at head-quarters, in Cambridge, in company with General Lee and several other gentlemen. He was received everywhere, on his way, with the greatest honours, and by the army with joyous acclamations. The distant woods, hills, and valleys shouted again and conveyed the glad tidings over the land.

Having reviewed the army, Washington found among a great multitude only 14,000 men in a condition for the service. The right of the army still rested on Roxbury, under General Ward, and the left was posted on Prospect Hill, near the Mystic river, under General Lee, while the main army was at Cambridge, under the guardianship of the commander-in-chief. The American army was in want of almost everything except courage, and a determination to defend their rights. There had been a great scarcity of powder from the commencement of the war; and all the powder they had now amounted to only about 10,000 pounds. The men were *uniform* in nothing except in *mind*, and in the *want* of bayonets. Even their rifles were of different calibres, which obliged them to *hammer* the balls to make them fit. There was also a great want of order and discipline. Washington immediately commenced to restore the one and instruct them in the other. This was a difficult and delicate undertaking with men not accustomed to restraint; but the wisdom and firmness of the commander-in-chief, aided by Congress, over-

came these difficulties, and the camp presented the appearance of a regular army. Redoubts were thrown up, and mounted so formidable an artillery along the line of circumvallation, that the enemy could not have taken Cambridge by assault, to open a way into the country. Thus the siege, or at least the blockade by land, was perfect. A supply of powder was soon received. Congress raised a number of riflemen in Pennsylvania and Virginia, to march to Boston to serve as light infantry; and, on receiving the news of the battle of Breed's Hill, it was decreed that two companies more should be levied in Pennsylvania. These companies, composed of about 1400 men, lightly clothed and armed with good rifles, arrived at camp about the beginning of August.

A resolution of Congress recommended to the colonies to put themselves in a state of defence, to be provided with men, arms, and ammunition. The men, from sixteen to fifty years of age, formed themselves into regular companies, and exercised themselves in wielding their arms. Manufactories of gunpowder and cannon-foundries were soon rising, and the views of Congress, seconded by the colonial Assemblies, were obeyed and carried out by the people with the greatest promptitude.

The *old man's company* was formed in Philadelphia, composed of old German emigrants, the oldest of whom, being nearly 100 years of age, was elected captain. Indeed, although the desire of Congress to arm the country was fulfilled in all the colonies, yet in none was it executed with more ardour than throughout Pennsylvania. Not only did 8000 men frequently meet in Philadelphia and manœuvre in the presence of Congress, but in every country town throughout the colony these parades were constantly to be seen. The German and Swiss inhabitants of Pennsylvania, distinguished for their honesty, industry, and patriotism, formed then, as their descendants do now, the bone and sinew of the state, and have ever since, in most instances, elected governors of German or Swiss descent.

Even the ladies raised and equipped a regiment at Bristol, in this state; not *of ladies*, of course, but *of men*, at the expense of the ladies. The banners they embroidered with their own

hands; and on presenting them, one of the ladies, in an eloquent speech, told the soldiers never to run away from the banners of the American ladies. And now let the enemy remember it is always prudent to avoid the regiments who march under the banners of the ladies. They are absolutely invincible! What! such men come home and look those ladies in the face without the banners! Ridiculous; no man would ever dream of such a thing!

Congress, in order to establish their authority on *regular laws*, sanctioned by the people, and to cement the union of the colonies, drew up and published articles of confederation, in which the colonists "bound themselves and their posterity, for the common defence against enemies, for the protection of liberty and property, as also their persons, and of the prosperity of America." These were afterwards adopted by all the colonies, preparing the way for a final separation from Great Britain, of the necessity and propriety of which, the members of Congress, as well as many others, were convinced long before they considered it prudent to publish their opinions.

While the provincial army was encamped before Boston, and Washington was employed in preparing for future operations, Congress, having reason to anticipate the invasion of the colonies from Canada, planned an expedition against that province. The discontent among the inhabitants, who were still French at heart, and who cherished a hatred against a late act of Parliament, which, although it favoured their religion, replaced them under the ancient nobility, whom they hated, it was supposed that, if an American army would penetrate into the country, the inhabitants would favour their cause as a favourable opportunity to free themselves from the British yoke.

The troops had nearly all been withdrawn to Boston, where they were now shut up, and the province was left comparatively defenceless; but the following spring numerous forces would probably be poured in to attack the colonies in the rear, an event which might be attended with the most disastrous consequences. The design of the Americans was also

encouraged by the possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which formed the key to the province, and would greatly facilitate their efforts.

Defensive war must assume an offensive character to become the more effectual; and as the enemy were the aggressors, and had resolved on continuing the war, it was expedient and proper to invade their dominions.

Three thousand troops were selected from New England and New York, and placed under the command of Brigadier-Generals Wooster and Montgomery, under the direction of Major-General Schuyler.

As the troops must traverse Lake Champlain, the river Sorel and the river St. Lawrence, to reach Canada, orders had been given to construct flat-bottomed boats at Ticonderoga, and at Crown Point, to convey the troops to the places necessary to fulfil the design of the enterprise.

The bills of credit thrown into circulation by Congress, it was well known, would not be received in Canada, and an effort was made to collect 50,000 dollars in specie. At the same time, the friendship of the Indians on the Mohawk river was cultivated by General Schuyler, who possessed a powerful influence over them, and who had remained in Albany for that purpose.

Montgomery had already gone to Crown Point with a part of the army, where he waited for the arrival of the rest. Having heard that Carleton, the enterprising and talented Governor of Canada, had caused a large brig to be constructed and armed, with a number of other vessels of less force, to be stationed in the river Sorel, at the outlet of Lake Champlain, to interdict the passage of the Americans into Canada, he determined to prevent it by moving rapidly with a few troops to occupy Ile aux Noix, a little island situated upon the entrance of the river, commanding the entrance into the lake.

Here General Schuyler now also arrived from Albany, where he had left orders for marching his troops to Ile aux Noix. From this place the two generals issued a proclamation to the people of Canada, inviting them to join the Ame-

ricans to defend their own liberties. They told them that they came not as enemies, but as friends, making war only against the British garrison.

Hence they marched to fort St. John, which, situated on the left bank of the Sorel, commands it and closes the passage towards the St. Lawrence. Moving on, they landed one mile and a half from the fort, in a marsh, through which they marched in good order, with the object of reconnoitring the place. In the course of this march, they were furiously attacked by the Indians, (Sept. 6th,) who intended to prevent their fording a river: these, however, the Americans drove back, and, in the night, established themselves in sight of the fort, where they threw up works. But, having no artillery, and learning, moreover, that the fort was well defended, they returned, the next day, to Ile aux Noix, to await reinforcements and artillery. At the same time, the Americans were employed in obstructing the channel of the river with chevaux-de-frise, to prevent the communication of the governor's ships between fort St. John and the lake.

General Schuyler having fallen into an indisposition, the command devolved on General Montgomery. He succeeded in detaching the Indians from the English in this place, and persuaded them to remain neuter. After the arrival of the reinforcements and artillery, he immediately advanced and laid siege to St. John. But feeling the general want among the provincials of powder and cannon-balls, he directed his attention to fort Chamblée, a small fort, five miles from St. John, on the same river, to which he sent a detachment of about 300 men, under Majors Brown and Livingstone. They appeared suddenly before the fort, and took possession of it. The garrison, composed of 160 men, commanded by Major Stopford, were made prisoners.

The ammunition found in this fort, consisting of a few cannon, and 124 barrels of powder, enabled Montgomery to push the siege of St. John more vigorously. A battery was established only fifty paces from the fort.

Several detachments scoured the country between the Sorel and the St. Lawrence, where they were received by

the Canadian people with demonstrations of joy, who came to join them and furnish them with arms, ammunition, and provisions. Colonel Allen and Major Brown now concerted the project of surprising and taking Montreal, the capital of Upper Canada, and situated on an island formed by two branches of the St. Lawrence. Allen marched to the banks of the St. Lawrence, where finding boats, he crossed over in the night, about three miles below Montreal. Major Brown was to have crossed over at the same time, but, unable to effect it, Allen was left in a very dangerous situation. Governor Carleton, with a number of English, Canadians, and Indians, marched out from Montreal to meet him. A fierce conflict ensued, in which Allen defended himself with great bravery, but, overpowered by numbers and deserted by his Canadian allies, he was forced to surrender. The governor barbarously loaded him with chains, and sent him to England to be tried as a rebel.

This success of the governor encouraged him to make an attempt to raise the siege of St. John. He assembled his troops, and departed from Montreal to join Colonel Maclean, who occupied the mouth of the Sorel with the Scotch regiment of Royal Highlanders. With these united forces he intended to attack Montgomery. The American general, however, had taken measures to guard against such an attack, by scouring, with a number of detachments, the eastern bank of the right branch of the St. Lawrence.

The English, in conformity with their design, entered their boats to cross the river at Longueville, but Colonel Warner having placed artillery on the bank of the river, stood ready for their reception. As the English approached, he opened a fire of grape-shot upon them, which drove them back to Montreal in great disorder. Colonel Maclean fell back upon Quebec, leaving the mouth of the Sorel at the disposal of the Americans.

The siege of St. John was rapidly progressing; Montgomery had approached with his trenches to the foot of the wall, and was preparing for an assault, when Major Preston, at the head of more than 500 regulars, and about 100 Cana-

dian volunteers, surrendered, on the 3d of November, after a siege of six weeks. Preston obtained the honours of war, and the prisoners were conducted into the colonies. The spoils were seventeen pieces of brass, and twenty-two iron cannon, seventeen mortars, and a large quantity of balls and bombs.

The next object of the Americans was, to occupy the mouth of the Sorel. This was of the greatest importance, to prevent the governor with his armed vessels, assembled at Montreal, from descending the river and escaping to Quebec. Batteries were erected on the point of land formed by the junction of the Sorel with the St. Lawrence; and the river being very wide at this place, a number of rafts and floating batteries were also constructed. This not only prevented Carleton from descending the river, but by a violent attack he was driven back towards Montreal. The governor and his squadron were thus placed in a most critical situation.

General Montgomery proceeded to Montreal, which he entered in triumph on the 13th of November. General Carleton had joined his ships and left the town the day previous. The inhabitants of Montreal were obliged to surrender at discretion, for, not being in a state of defence, they could make no terms. It was, however, the interest and the inclination of the conqueror to treat the vanquished with great lenity. He promised to protect their property and their religion, and added, he hoped that, if they adhered to the American cause, their civil and religious rights would be established by the provincial Congress, and that their courts of justice would be organized upon the principle of the English constitution. After such treatment to the people of Montreal, the general had reason to hope that the inhabitants of Quebec would espouse the cause of America.

The governor, with his ships, was blockaded between the city and the mouth of the Sorel; and not only were all his naval efforts at an end, but his escape appeared absolutely impossible. In this critical period he threw himself into a boat, caused the paddles to be muffled to prevent much noise, and in this manner had the good fortune, on a dark night, to pass through the guard-boats of the Americans, and arrive in

safety at Quebec. General Prescott, who took the command of the squadron after the escape of the governor, was soon after obliged to surrender, and eleven sail of vessels, several officers, 120 privates, a large quantity of flour, beef, butter, cannon, small-arms and military stores, fell into the hands of the provincials.

Having garrisoned Montreal, St. John, and Chamblée, to keep up a communication between Quebec and the colonies, Montgomery marched to Quebec with only about 300 men. As the march from St. John to Montreal had been attended with so much difficulty and suffering, through low and marshy land, many of the troops began to murmur when they arrived at the latter place; and as the time of the service of some had expired, they insisted upon going home. Some of these malcontents actually did go home, while others were persuaded to follow the fortunes of their leader.

Colonel Maclean was suddenly called upon to defend Quebec against the most imminent danger from an unexpected quarter.

At the time the provincial army blockaded Boston, Washington had conceived an enterprise, which, for originality and boldness, has seldom been equalled.

About 130 miles north of Boston is the Kennebec river, stretching from the sea through the state of Maine to no great distance from Quebec. The plan was, to sail up this river with about 1100 men, penetrate through swamps and forests, and pass over the mountains that separate New England from Canada, beyond the sources of the Kennebec. Opposite these sources, on the other side of the mountains, rises another river, called the Chaudière, which flows into the St. Lawrence a short distance above Quebec. Arriving from such an unexpected quarter, through rough and dismal solitudes, where the marching of an army appeared chimerical, it was supposed that Quebec, unprepared for such an attack, would fall an easy prey.

The command of this extraordinary enterprise was given to Colonel Arnold, a man of the most intrepid courage, bor-

dering at times on madness, a ready genius, with great energy and firmness of character.

About the middle of September, Arnold left Boston with ten companies of fusileers, three of riflemen, and one of artillery. Among the few volunteers that joined them, was Colonel Burr. When they arrived at Newburyport, situated at the mouth of the Merrimack, the vessels in waiting conveyed the expedition to the mouth of the Kennebec. Favoured by the wind, Arnold entered the river, and found 200 batteaux in progress, at the town of Gardiner. These being laden with his arms, ammunition, and provisions, the soldiers commenced their labours against an impetuous current, interrupted by rocks, shoals, and falls, which obliged them to unload the boats again and again, and carry all the lading, and, finally, the boats themselves, until the stream became navigable again. And when, with incessant toil, they had traversed the length of the river, they had difficulties to encounter no less formidable. They now commenced their march over swampy grounds; penetrated through thick forests, hewing their way through, with baggage on their backs; scaled high and rugged mountains, hitherto deemed inaccessible; waded through water; traversed frightful precipices; and, to increase these accumulated horrors, their provisions had failed, and sickness appeared among them before they had reached the sources of the Kennebec; and Colonel Enos receiving orders to send back all the sick, embraced the occasion and went back himself with all his detachment to Boston. His appearance there excited the indignation of the army; he was brought before a court-martial, but acquitted, on the supposed impossibility of obtaining sustenance in these dismal places. This desertion, and the increasing difficulties, seemed to invigorate Arnold and his heroic followers. They ate their dogs, and whatever else they could get, excepting, however, their *shoes* and *clothes*, as some authors, influenced by popular errors, have erroneously stated. For 300 miles they travelled, without perceiving a single habitation. While still at the distance of one hundred miles from human habitations, they divided their whole store, and each man got about four pints

of flour. At thirty miles' distance from the habitations of men, they baked the last morsel of their provisions. Their constancy and courage, however, did not desert them, and when threatened with death from famine, Arnold appeared among them with some food. They continued their march, and at length discovered, to their inexpressible joy, the sources of the Chaudière, and soon after the dwellings and faces of men. The Canadians received and treated them as friends, expressing their friendly disposition towards Congress. Arnold issued a proclamation of General Washington, the nature of which was the same as that of Schuyler and Montgomery; and having collected his scattered soldiers, he continued his march, and about six or seven weeks after his departure from Boston, or rather Cambridge, he arrived at a place called Point Levy, situated opposite to Quebec, on the bank of the river St. Lawrence.

The astonishment and consternation produced upon the people of Quebec on the appearance of this apparition, was universal. They could not imagine how they got there. They were not of "questionable shape" enough to have dropped from the moon; and although their hard journey may have given them some little resemblance, in their outward appearance, to Falstaff's regiment, yet they did not look like beings from a *nether* world. Had not the small-craft and boats been removed just before the arrival of Arnold, which prevented him from crossing the river for several days, he would have made himself master of Quebec before the inhabitants recovered from their surprise.

Arnold had confided a letter to an Indian while yet at the sources of the Kennebec, to carry to General Schuyler, which, through the carelessness or treachery of the savage, fell into the hands of Colonel Maclean, who, being thus apprized of the approach of the Americans, had advanced by forced marches to Quebec, just in time to withdraw the boats and make hasty preparations to defend the city. From the disaffection which prevailed in Canada to the British government, this defence would have been very feeble; but many of the inhabitants, both French and English, as soon as they saw American

colours floating on the other side of the river, fearing for their own property, united by common danger in active exertions to be prepared before the Americans could cross the river.

Some of the Canadians having furnished Arnold with boats, and the tempestuous winds which had blown for several days and nights having ceased, he appointed the night of the 13th of November to pass the river and attack the city. All his men were embarked except 150, who remained to complete the scaling-ladders. The ships of the enemy were carefully avoided, and on reaching the left bank, Arnold, followed by his heroic soldiers, mounted the heights of Abraham, where the immortal Wolfe had ascended before him, and drew up his little army near the plains of Abraham. Here he waited for the companies on the other side of the river. He hoped to surprise the city and carry it by a single effort; but his intercepted letter, and his appearance at Point Levy, had given the alarm, and all were at their posts. He resolved, however, upon an attack, notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of affairs. He had no cannon; many of his muskets had become useless during the journey, and their ammunition was so damaged that only six charges remained to a man. With a view to excite a moral sway over the inhabitants, he now began to show himself frequently upon the heights, and at last actually sent a flag summoning the town to surrender, but Maclean ordered his men to fire upon the bearers. Receiving intelligence of several Canadians that it was proposed to attack him on the morning of the 19th, Arnold found it necessary to retire to Point au Tremble, twenty miles above Quebec, to await the arrival of Montgomery from Upper Canada.

On the first of December, Montgomery arrived at Point au Tremble, with his 300 men. Colonel Arnold advanced to receive him, and the shouts of joy at this meeting echoed far over the dismal scenes of winter.

Marching in company, the two generals arrived in sight of Quebec on the 5th of December. Montgomery demanded an immediate surrender of the governor, who had now arrived. This was again refused; and the general, considering

his weakness and the resolution of the inhabitants to oppose him, had but faint hopes of success. However, as the fortifications of so extensive a city were numerous, he thought of finding an opportunity to strike a decisive blow at some propitious moment. Five small mortars were employed to throw bombs into the city, but without effect. In a few days after, six pieces of cannon were planted within 700 paces of the walls, but their calibre was too small to produce any effect.

A Canadian winter, with all its severity, was howling around our adventurers. The snow, which fell incessantly, encumbered all their movements; the piercing cold was beyond human nature to bear in the open field; the toils and dreadful sufferings to which their small number subjected them, would have been overwhelming, had not their attachment to their cause and their unshaken confidence in their general sustained them.

"The keener tempests rise; and fuming dun
From all the livid east, or piercing north,
Thick clouds ascend, in whose capacious womb
A vapoury deluge lies, to snow congeal'd;
Heavy they roll their fleecy world along,
And the sky saddens with the gather'd storm.
Through the hush'd air the whitening shower descends,
At first thin wavering, till at last the flakes
Fall broad, and wide, and fast, dimming the day
With a continual flow."

The time of service of the provincials had nearly expired, and Montgomery saw that, without a bold effort, this part of the object of his expedition must fail; and he even doubted if the conquests already made could be preserved, if the capital of the province remained in the power of the English.

Thus situated, temerity and prudence became almost the same to them; and however slender may have been the hopes of success, they resorted to the only means left them consistent with the character of brave and patriotic men. A council of war was convoked; an assault was agreed upon, and the necessary dispositions for storming the town were put in execution.

Four attacks were to be made at the same time—two false ones, by Majors Livingstone and Brown, to divide the enemy's forces, and two real ones, the first led by Montgomery, and the second by Arnold, both of whom directed their forces against the lower part of the town from opposite points.

The attacks were made between 4 and 5 o'clock, on the 31st of December, in a tremendous snow-storm; and the firing of rockets was intended for the signal.

Brown and Livingstone, detained by the snow and other obstacles, were too late to execute their feints.

Montgomery led his men to the attack. On approaching the first barrier a panic seized the Canadians, and they threw down their arms and fled. But as the Americans approached, the road was so much obstructed by enormous piles of snow, that its removal became necessary. This being effected, they passed one by one, and having assembled 200 men, the general encouraged them to advance rapidly to take the barrier. One of the Canadians, some daring fellow, on seeing the Americans halt, returned to the battery, and finding one of the matches still burning, he fired a cannon loaded with grape-shot. Montgomery, Macpherson, and Cheesman, with several others, who had been only forty paces off, were killed. The troops fled and abandoned the enterprise.

The Americans under Arnold advanced rapidly through a passage obstructed by a large quantity of snow, under the fire of grape-shot from the besieged. Receiving a wound in the leg from a musket-ball, which fractured the bone, he was carried to the hospital almost by force. This was an unlucky leg, for at the battle of Saratoga it was grievously wounded again. No one, we hope, will find fault with the word leg—we detest, above all things, a false modesty. To say that a man was wounded in an extremity leaves the sense ambiguous as to whether it was a *moral* or a *physical* extremity—an *upper* or a *lower* extremity: in short, we have always been of the opinion that this pseudo-delicacy—this stammering, hesitating evasion of a *proper* name leads the mind, more than anything else, to mischief. A refined mind should

never resort to such ridiculous auxiliaries. With this wounded leg we have limped from our subject.

Captain Morgan has taken the command. He rushes against the first battery, and his celebrated riflemen kill the enemy through the embrasures. Ladders are applied to the parapets, and the first battery is taken, together with a number of prisoners. A few brave men had followed Morgan, but the rest had not yet time to join him. Here they stood, in a strange place, unacquainted with the city, involved in darkness, and pelted by the pitiless storm; the roar of artillery and of musketry shakes the ground; the flash of fire lights up, momentarily, the awful scene, then again it is involved in additional gloom. Despair would have seized upon ordinary men, but Morgan rallied his riflemen, hurried towards the next barrier, followed by Lieutenant-Colonel Green, Majors Bigelow and Meigs. The second battery was attacked as the morning dawned; and as the enemy sallied out, under Captain Anderson, to summon the Americans to lay down their arms, Morgan levelled his rifle at the captain's head and stretched him on the ground. The British, surprised at such audacity, scampered off rather abruptly, hid themselves behind the battery, and shut the barrier. An attempt was next made to scale the second barrier, but, to their astonishment, they saw two files of soldiers, with a forest of bayonets, ready to receive them. Alarmed by a fire in their rear and flank, the soldiers retired into the houses, while Morgan, almost alone, called upon them to return. A retreat was at last sounded, when surrounded by enemies, and Morgan proposed to his followers to fight their way through them; but hoping that Montgomery might soon come to their relief, they refused to expose themselves to the consequences of such a desperate attempt, and remained in the houses, defending themselves. The enemy continued to pour in from other parts of the city, indicating the failure of Montgomery's detachment; and, having lost all hope of escaping, Morgan, with his immediate followers, made a virtue of necessity, and surrendered, when each became a kind of caged lion, proud, dignified, and undaunted.

The garrison of Quebec consisted of about 1500 men; the number of Americans, at the time of the attack, were 800. The Americans lost, in killed and wounded, 100, and 300 were taken prisoners. Montgomery was found the day after the attack, with a wound in each thigh, and one in the head.

The following occurs in Lee's memoirs: "When Morgan was in confinement at Quebec, the following anecdote, told by himself, manifests the high opinion entertained by the enemy of his military talents, from his conduct in this assault. He was visited occasionally by a British officer, to him unknown; but, from his uniform, he appeared to belong to the navy, and to be an officer of distinction. During one of his visits, after conversing upon many topics, he asked Morgan if he did not begin to be convinced that the resistance of America was visionary; and he endeavoured to impress him with the disastrous consequences which must infallibly ensue, if the idle attempt were persevered in, and very kindly exhorted him to renounce the ill-advised undertaking. He declared, with seeming sincerity and candour, his admiration of Morgan's spirit and enterprise, which, he said, were worthy of a better cause; and told him, if he would agree to withdraw from the American, and join the British standard, he was authorized to promise him the commission, rank, and emoluments of a colonel in the royal army." Morgan rejected the proposal with disdain; and concluded his reply by observing, "that he hoped he would never again insult him in his distressed and unfortunate situation, by making him offers which plainly implied that he thought him a rascal." The officer withdrew, and the offer was never repeated.

After the repulse, Arnold retired and encamped for the winter about three miles from Quebec, to convert the siege into a blockade. After entrenching himself, he scoured the country to intercept the provisions intended for the city. The governor, satisfied with the possession of his capital, quietly waited for reinforcements from England. In the spring of 1776, Arnold, finding his forces inadequate for the reduction of Quebec, and receiving no reinforcements, retired. The Americans, after being obliged to relinquish

one post after another, had entirely evacuated Canada about the 18th of June.

Thus ended one of the most wonderful adventures that the history of the world furnishes—a theme fit for the poet, the painter and the *novelist*, for here truth is stranger than fiction. If the expedition did not succeed fully, it did so in many respects; but the greatest effect it produced was its moral influence. Such an illustration of the spirit of patriotism, whether on a large or a small scale, often accomplishes more than bloody and victorious battles, by the influence it has upon the minds of men.

The reader will remember that some pages back (p. 232), we left a wrathy governor a voluntary prisoner in his own strongly fortified palace. This was Lord Dunmore of Virginia. What has become of him it is now our business to inquire. He says (and we have no disposition to doubt his words) that his *present residence* is on board the Fowey man-of-war, anchored near Yorktown. He declares that himself and family had been exposed to a furious multitude, and he had thought it prudent to take refuge in a place of safety. The Assembly tell him that if he had acquainted them with his fears before leaving, they would have taken measures for the security of himself and his family; and then invite him to return. But he refuses, and tells them that they might send the bills on board his armed ship for examination. All intercourse was soon at an end, and the governor, or rather ex-governor, issued his proclamations, instituting martial law, and *proffering freedom to those slaves who would repair to the British standard!* Such cowardly proceedings merited the contempt of every generous mind. If an enemy is honourable, we may respect him though we detest his cause; but mean conduct compels us to pity or despise the man. Such a *hero* as Dunmore, of course, did not remain idle. He equipped and armed a number of other vessels, and as the provincials refused him provisions, instead of waging ordinary war, he proceeded to reduce Hampton to ashes, and wage a kind of piratical war. Again he came to shore at Norfolk, situated near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, on the Elizabeth

river, where a few loyalists and a very few frightened *darkeys* joined him; and, after defeating a handful of militia hastily assembled, the governor already considered himself a Cæsar, and had great hopes of re-conquering his province! The governor next entrenched himself in a strong position on the Elizabeth river with his amalgamated army.

The Virginians threw up entrenchments within cannon-shot of the enemy. Dunmore sent Captain Fordyce to dislodge them, but being killed, and many of the troops killed and wounded, the rest retired. The negroes, of course, showed the white of the eye and ran. The governor re-embarked, but returning some time after, and demanding food in vain, he burnt the town of Norfolk, on the 1st of January, 1776. About 6000 inhabitants were thus deprived of their homes. After this he joined General Howe at New York.

"'—Sea-nursed Norfolk lights the neighbouring plains.
From realm to realm the smoky volumes bend,
Reach round the bays and up the streams extend;
Deep o'er the concave heavy wreaths are roll'd,
And midland towns and distant groves infold.
Through solid curls of smoke, the bursting fires
Climb in tall pyramids above the spires,
Concentring all the winds; whose forces, driven
With equal rage from every point of heaven,
Whirl into conflict, round the scantling pour
The twisting flames, and through the rafters roar,
Suck up the cinders, send them sailing far,
To warn the nations of the raging war,
Bend high the blazing vortex, swell'd and curl'd,
Careering, brightening o'er the lustred world,
Absorb the reddening clouds that round them run,
Lick the pale stars, and mock their absent sun:
Seas catch the splendour, kindling skies resound,
And falling structures shake the smouldering ground.

Crowds of wild fugitives, with frantic tread,
Flit through the flames that pierce the midnight shade,
Back on the burning domes revert their eyes,
Where some lost friend, some perish'd infant lies;
Their maim'd, their sick, their age-enfeebled sires
Have sunk sad victims to the ruthless fires.

They greet with one last look their tottering walls,
See the blaze thicken, as the ruin falls,
Then o'er the country train their dumb despair,
And far behind them leave the dancing glare;
Their own crush'd roofs still lend a trembling light,
Point their long shadows and direct their flight;
Till wandering wide they seek some cottage door,
Ask the vile pittance due the vagrant poor;
Or, faint and faltering on the devious road,
They sink at last, and yield their mortal load."

The royal governors of other colonies took refuge on board of the English shipping, and royal government generally, by this abdication, terminated with the year 1775.

CHAPTER VI.

Blockade of Boston turned into a Siege—Americans fortify Dorchester Heights—Astonishment of the Enemy—Evacuate Boston—Sail to Halifax—Washington takes Possession of Boston.

"The cannons have their bowels full of wrath;
And ready-mounted are they to spit forth
Their iron indignation 'gainst your walls."

"Look, my lord!" * * *

"Angels and ministers of grace defend us!"

The garrison of Boston saw its sphere of operations, in procuring provisions, diminish from day to day. Not only had Washington encouraged the frequent skirmishes about Boston with this view, and to keep up the spirit of the Americans, and accustom them to the din of arms and the encounter of the enemy, but a decree of Congress prohibiting the exportation of provisions from the colonies to Canada, Nova Scotia, the island of St. John, Newfoundland and the Floridas, made provisions so scarce in these places that the inhabitants were themselves in want. If the British attempted to land and forage along the coast of the colonies, they were attacked and beaten back by the provincials. The enemy now became desperate; and one of their ships, laden with the

effects of some loyalists, being attacked by the inhabitants of Falmouth, Massachusetts, they bombarded the town, and then sent a detachment on shore to set it on fire and reduce it to ashes. The Assembly of Massachusetts, who had already ordained the armament of some vessels to protect the coast, now decreed that letters of marque and reprisal should be granted, and that admiralty courts should be established to decide on the validity of the prizes.

With a view to intercept the enemy's navigation and protect the coasts of the colonies, Congress decreed that a fleet of five ships of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four, should be built and armed. Two were to be constructed in Massachusetts, one in New Hampshire, one in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island, two in New York, *four* in Pennsylvania, and one in Maryland. These vessels were equipped with great despatch, and the command of the squadron was given to Commodore Hopkins. Congress also created courts of admiralty, and authorized the capture of the ships in the service of the enemy, or which should lend them any assistance.

To their great amazement, the enemy soon saw swarms of American vessels along the coast; not only the squadron of Congress, but also the Massachusetts cruisers. These took an immense number of prizes, and rivalled the enemy on an element on which they had hitherto experienced no opposition from the provincials. The American vessels, hiding behind the great number of little islands along the coast, suddenly darted out and took the enemy's ships, loaded with provisions. By these means they not only cut off the provisions and fuel, but the arms and ammunition sent over from England, of which the provincials stood much in need, were also taken.

While Washington was thus gradually closing every door and avenue to Boston, by land and sea, not only cutting off the provisions of the enemy, but diminishing the chances of escape, he began to contemplate the best mode of taking John Bull by the horns; of making the whole British army prisoners, and of destroying the British squadron in the port and bay.

Encouraged and urged by Congress to brave all dangers in

terminating the siege of Boston, before the arrival of reinforcements from England, when the services of the American army would be required elsewhere, Washington arranged a plan to take the city by assault. Calling his generals together, he proposed to them his plan of attack. The majority, however, opposed the plan; and it was finally agreed that the Dorchester Heights should be occupied; which commanding Boston and its harbour, the enemy would be forced to evacuate the city. This plan was preferred, as being attended with less risk than the other. The prudence and sagacity of the commander-in-chief, in estimating the probable issue of such an undertaking, constrains us to believe, that had his plan been carried into effect, the result would have been the capture of the British army.

The Americans, to mask their real design, opened batteries at various points, which incessantly fulminated with a terrible roar, on the night of March 2d, 1776. The darkness of the night was dissipated by the continual blaze. The bombs fell thick and fast in Boston; the houses were fired again and again, and the garrison were labouring continually in extinguishing the flames. Not suspecting that such a furious attack of cannon and bombs was a mere *feint*, the enemy had no fear of danger from any other quarter.

On the evening of the 4th of March, the Americans proceeded silently towards the peninsula of Dorchester. The darkness of the night, the favourable course of the wind, carrying away the unavoidable noise, and the continual deafening roar and thunder of the numerous batteries employed in the *feint*, all favoured the enterprise.

The van-guard, consisting of 1200 men, was followed by the carriages containing the entrenching tools. In the rear-guard were 300 carts of bundles of hay, fascines, &c., to cover the flanks of the troops in passing the isthmus of Dorchester, exposed to be raked on both sides by the guns on the British ships. Arriving upon the eminences, they commenced the work in excellent spirits, and with such surprising activity, that by morning they had two forts constructed, one on each

hill, (rising up abruptly from the surrounding land to a considerable height,) which completely sheltered them.

In the morning, when the darkness was dissipated, the surprise and alarm of the enemy were extreme; the golden dreams of conquest and of fame flitted away like the "baseless fabrics of a vision," and they stood aghast, as if MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN, had been written in characters of fire on the Heights of Dorchester.

"No alternative remained now for the besieged," says Stedman, writing for the British, "but to dislodge the provincials from their new works, or evacuate the town. To succeed in the former was impossible, for the British troops must have ascended an almost perpendicular eminence, on the top of which the Americans had prepared hogsheads, chained together in great numbers, and filled with stones, to roll down upon them as they marched up: a curious provision, by which whole columns would have been swept off at once. This species of preparation will exemplify, in a striking manner, *that fertility of genius in expedients, which strongly characterized the Americans during the war.* This would effectually have destroyed all order, and have broken the ranks."

Admiral Howe, after examining the works, declared that, if the Americans were not dislodged from their position, his vessels could no longer remain in safety in the harbour. The city itself might be converted into a heap of ruins by the provincials.

General Howe, brother of the admiral, and successor to General Gage, had at one time concluded to attack the colonists. He ordered ladders to be prepared to scale the walls, but the ebb of the tide and the tempestuous winds defeated his object, while, in the mean time, the Americans erected a third redoubt, and Washington aroused his soldiers to be ready to take Boston, either during the battle or immediately after the *defeat* of the enemy, before they could recover from the confusion.

The British now began to calculate the *cost* of victory, even if successful. They had not yet forgotten Bunker's Hill, which was less elevated, and the works less perfect.

But if the enemy found insurmountable obstacles staring them in the face, discouraging the attempt to dislodge the provincials, while the destruction of their ships and even their own imprisonment formed unwelcome ideas in their haughty minds, a retreat in the face of the enemy under the cannon's mouth, controlled by exasperated men, promised no auspicious departure.

"Now," said a man 'fou and unco happy,' holding on to a post on the edge of a Philadelphia wharf, on a cold winter night, "if I hold on I shall perish with the cold; if I let go I shall be drowned in the river." The situation of this man thus illustrates the condition of Howe and his army.

In this awkward dilemma, Howe assembled some of the selectmen of Boston, and told them that the *city being no longer of any use to the king, he was resolved to abandon it*, if Washington did not oppose it. He represented to them all the horrors of a battle within the walls of the city; and, at the same time, pointed to the combustible materials ready to fire the city in case he was molested. With this intelligence he sent them to Washington, and Washington sent Howe to ——Halifax! or at least *allowed* him to depart.

The Americans remained quiet, and the English began to retreat. Boston now presented a melancholy appearance; about 1500 loyalists, with their families, hastened to gather up their most valuable effects, and abandon their homes; fathers are carrying loads on their backs; mothers, almost frantic with grief and despair, drag their little whiteheads through the streets towards the ships that are to take them from their homes and their country, under the most gloomy circumstances. Frightful tumults, arising from quarrels and fights for the beasts of burden and carts, to remove furniture, disturb the streets. The soldiers force the doors to rob the houses and shops, and wantonly destroy what they cannot carry away.

Adverse winds detained the enemy for some time, but on the 17th of March they embarked, and, in vessels overladen with men and baggage, but scant in provisions, they set sail for Halifax, situated in a sterile country, as their only resort,

not being in a condition to land forcibly in any part of the colonies. They left behind, at Boston and at Castle Island, 250 pieces of cannon, half of which were serviceable, 4 thirteen and a half inch mortars (to fire bombs withal), 2500 chaldrons of sea-coal, 25,000 bushels of wheat, 2300 bushels of barley, 600 bushels of oats, 100 jars of oil, and 150 horses.—*Très apropos.*

As the rear-guard of the enemy were leaving the city, Washington entered it on the other side with colours (now *striped* with *thirteen* lists) floating proudly over his army, drums beating, and all the forms of victory and triumph.

The people, relieved from the outrages to which they had been exposed for sixteen months by a rude and insolent soldiery, as well as from hunger and cold, received Washington with every demonstration of joy and gratitude, so richly merited by their deliverer.

"Beside him, Justice trims her scale,
And Freedom's songs arise;
Fresh laurels bloom upon his brow,
And Fame before him flies.
O mighty chief, around thy head
Shall Victory's banner wave,
And future millions bless the name
Of Washington the brave.

In silent sadness, weeping, lay
Columbia's daughters low,
Their tresses bound with mantle gray,
Their cheeks were pale with wo;
'O mighty Heaven! protect,' they cried,
'All those we cannot leave!'
Their prayers were heard; and all rejoin
In Washington the brave."

CHAPTER VII.

Plan of the British Government to subdue the Colonies—Fleet sent from Ireland—War in North Carolina—Defeat of Macdonald—Siege of Charleston, South Carolina—Defeat of the British Fleet—Resolution to declare the Colonies free and independent States—Lee's Speech—Declaration of Independence—Its Effects on the American People.

"And who is he that wields the might
Of Freedom on the green sea-brink,
Before whose sabre's dazzling light
The eyes of *British* warriors wink?"

* * * * * * *

"One who, no more than mortal brave,
Fought for the land his soul adored,
For happier homes and altars free—
His only talisman the sword,
His only spell-word, Liberty!"

Some of the former governors of the colonies, burning with revenge, or actuated by a natural desire to regain their former power, argued the British government into the belief, that if the mother country would provide a respectable force to co-operate with the loyalists, they would at once rally under their banners; but that, at present, they were restrained from taking an active part against the Americans.

Extremely credulous (a weakness of human nature) in everything that flattered their pride and vanity, the ministers resolved to aim an overwhelming blow at the southern provinces. From these they would take the middle and northern colonies in flank; while the front and rear of these colonies would be assailed from the sea and from Canada. By such an infallible plan, they expected soon to reduce the Americans to submission. But they were most egregiously mistaken, as men, who calculate too much upon the infallibility of poor, blundering, *fallible* bipeds, have ever been, since man had a being. This character we give of man in comparison with God, to whom, alone, belongs the attribute of infallibility.

The fleet sent from Ireland, in command of Lord Cornwallis,

under the convoy of Sir Peter Parker, to co-operate with the loyalists, first in North Carolina; then with those of South Carolina; retarded by storms and contrary winds, arrived at Cape Fear, in North Carolina, on the 3d of May, after a voyage of nearly three months. Here they joined General Clinton, who, at the head of a considerable corps, had quitted Boston in December, and having been unable to execute his design of attacking Virginia, he now, from seniority, took the command in chief.

Governor Martin, who had taken refuge on board of the vessels of the king, calculating upon a timely assistance from England, erected the royal standard in North Carolina, summoning the loyalists to rally around it in defence of the country and against rebels. He named Colonel Macdonald, Captain-General of all the levies, a man warmly attached to the royal cause. They assembled at Cross Creek, where their numbers increased daily, until they assumed rather a threatening appearance. The patriots, however, were not idle. The provincial Assembly despatched all the militia in preparation against them, and caused others to be assembled from every part of the colony. The patriots were commanded by General Moore, with whom Macdonald attempted to negotiate. Moore had the address to prolong the negotiation until his forces, increasing daily, became superior to those of his adversary, when a regular chase ensued, and Macdonald, in his marches, interposed forests, rivers, &c., between himself and his pursuers, to baffle them in their attempt to cut off his retreat. After a chase of 80 miles, Macdonald arrived at Moore's Creek, 16 miles from Wilmington, where he expected to join Governor Martin and General Clinton, who had already arrived at Cape Fear. The patriots, in close pursuit, not only prevented the junction, but compelled him to fight: his troops were soon seized with a panic, and ran away from their general, who was made prisoner, with many other loyalists.

This untimely movement ruined the royal cause in North Carolina; and as the trade carried on from Charleston, South Carolina, was the source from which the provincials derived

the means for the warlike preparations of the south, it was supposed that its reduction would not only stop the trade, but, holding the capital, they expected to be able to terrify the entire province into submission.

The city being situated upon the very coast, where the enemy's boasted naval power might be brought into requisition, they considered this operation required nothing more than to come, to see, and to conquer.

In referring to a map of South Carolina, the reader will find that Sullivan's Island is situated on a part of the sea six miles from a point of land, formed by the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers, and upon which Charleston is situated. This island, upon which stands a fort, commands the channel leading to the port, and no vessel could enter without passing under the cannon of the fort, which was now armed with 36 pieces of heavy cannon and 26 smaller.

The militia of the whole province are called to the defence of this city, and the call is quickly obeyed. In a few days 6000 men had assembled with fire-arms, with spades, or axes. Entrenchments were thrown up along the shore, and the roads leading to the sea were obstructed by abattis. One regiment was sent to guard James' Island, three miles from Charleston, which commands the whole breadth of the channel; the second and third were sent to occupy Sullivan's Island. The second was commanded by William Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of the fort, which now bears his name. The rest of the troops were distributed in various places, all under the command of General Lee.

The whole British fleet, now proceeding to Charleston, arrived there on the 4th of June. The fleet consisted of the Bristol and Experiment of 50 guns; four frigates, the Active, the Acteon, the Solebay, and the Syren, of 28; the Sphinx of 20, the Friendship of 24, two small vessels of 8, and the *Thunder* bomb.

The enemy having constructed two batteries of cannon and mortars on Long Island, to answer those of the Americans, and co-operate with the floating battery destined to cover the landing of the troops on Sullivan's Island, resolved

to commence the reduction of the fort on the 28th of June, as a necessary step to the taking of the city. At a quarter past eleven, all the ships having got springs upon their cables, opened a tremendous cannonade upon the fort. Three of the frigates got aground, two of which hove off, but the Acteon stuck fast, and was set on fire the next morning, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Americans. The Thunder, by the time she had discharged about sixty bombs, found herself so disabled by the fire from the fort, that she discontinued her thunder. The enemy's fleet now hailed a tempest of balls upon the fort, and Colonel Moultrie, with 375 regulars, and a few militia, hurled the iron tempest back again with such cool and deliberate *aim*, as to produce great havoc among the English ships. Again and again the terrible peals come booming over the sea, and the distant sea-monsters raise their uncouth heads in amazement. Captain Morris, who commanded the Acteon, which was stranded, had already received several wounds, and nearly all his men were killed. Admiral Parker himself was somewhat *bruised*. The rigging of some of the vessels was torn into fragments, the sport of the winds, which exposed them to the fire of the Americans, until they were in danger of being sunk.

"At the same time," says Stedman, "that the fleet began firing, the batteries on Long Island opened. At 12 o'clock, the light infantry, grenadiers, and the fifteenth regiment, embarked in boats; the floating batteries and armed craft getting under way at the same time, to cover their landing on Sullivan's Island. Scarcely, however, had the detachment proceeded from Long Island, before they were ordered to disembark and return to their encampment. And it must be confessed that, if they had landed, they would have had to struggle with difficulties almost insurmountable. The ground on which the fort stood was insulated, by a broad and deep trench cut across the island, and this canal under the immediate command of the guns of fort Sullivan."

The ships still continued an incessant fire upon the fort, which was returned with great spirit, until about two o'clock, when the firing of the fort gradually died away into silence!

Is it the stillness of death, or does prudence teach them they must for the present yield to the foe? Already do the enemy exult in a victory they esteem as secure. But, hark! the roar begins again—see, the fire flashes to the sky; the enemy's ships quail under the shock; the rigging again falls; the splinters are again hurled far out into the sea; the blood of the slain again flows over the slippery decks; the sudden cries and the dying groans of the wounded are again mingled with the awful din of war, and the last faint spark of hope the enemy have of victory, trembles at the heart, then dies. The ammunition of the Americans had failed, but they have received a supply.

This furious cannonade continued until between nine and ten o'clock.

"In this day's attack," says the enemy's own historian, "the Bristol and Experiment suffered most; the fire of the enemy being principally directed against them, they were left almost wrecks upon the water. Early on the morning of the 29th, the light infantry, grenadiers, and the fifteenth regiment were again embarked, and almost immediately afterwards ordered to disembark. In this inactive state did affairs remain until the 15th of July, when orders were issued to the troops to embark on board the transports. Sir H. Clinton had been greatly deceived in his information. The passage was not fordable in the rear of the fort; for Sir Henry and several other officers *waded up to their shoulders, and then, on finding that the depth of water increased, returned.* On putting the boats, in which were the artillery, into the water, it was found that they let in the water so fast, that they must sink."

"The officers and men of the artillery who were in them had nearly been lost." Poor fellows; this war is dangerous business at best, and as the shores of Sullivan's Island on the other side of this arm of the sea look rather formidable, it was perhaps a fortunate thing that they loaded their boats so heavily as to be obliged to return. Well, men will get mischievous ideas into their heads: if any one thinks that we allude to their heavy load as an excuse *not* to go to the other

side,—why, he is not much mistaken. Not that we doubt Sir Henry's courage, but Sir Henry would sooner not fight than to be driven back, for glory is not won at all times by such defeat, and it often plucks a feather, sometimes a handful, out of the cap. So, my boys, we better *can't* get over.

In addition to what we have already quoted from Stedman, it may be remarked, that, after the fire of the 28th, the enemy, finding his vessels in a most deplorable condition, and not seeing Sir Henry Clinton take the fort in the rear, determined to abandon the enterprise. The next morning the ships were already two miles from the island; and, after having re-embarked the troops, they sailed for New-York, on the 15th of July, where they expected the commander-in-chief, General Howe.

The fort was constructed of palmetto wood, which, being soft and spongy, broke the impetus of the balls without doing much injury. It was as good as *cotton bags*, behind which another hero has since immortalized his name. Some idea may be formed of the enemy's fire from the fact that 7000 loose balls were picked up on Sullivan's Island after the engagement. These, I presume, the Americans afterwards *sent back* again.

The British in this terrible battle had not only their ships nearly torn to pieces, but 200 men were killed and wounded, while the loss of the Americans was but 10 killed and 22 wounded.

Congress voted their thanks to Major-General Lee, to Col. Moultrie, to Col. Thompson, and to all the officers and soldiers, all having displayed equal courage and bravery in this successful defence.

The following we find in Goodrich, from M'Call's Georgia:

"Among the American troops who resisted the British, in their attack on fort Moultrie, was a Sergeant Jasper, whose name has been given to one of the counties in Georgia, in commemoration of his gallant deeds, and who deserves an honourable notice in every history of his country. In the warmest part of the contest, the flag-staff was severed by a cannon-ball, and the flag fell to the bottom of the ditch, on

the outside of the works. This accident was considered, by the anxious inhabitants of Charleston, as putting an end to the contest, by striking the American flag to the enemy. The moment Jasper made the discovery that the flag had fallen, he jumped from one of the embrasures and took up the flag, which he tied to a post and replaced it on the parapet, where he supported it until another flag-staff was procured.

"The subsequent activity and enterprise of this patriot induced Colonel Moultrie to give him a sort of roving commission, to go and come at pleasure, confident that he was always usefully employed. He was privileged to select such men from the regiment as he should choose, to accompany him in his enterprises. His parties consisted, generally, of five or six, and he often returned with prisoners before Moultrie was apprised of his absence. Jasper was distinguished for his humane treatment when an enemy fell into his power. His ambition appears to have been limited to the characteristics of bravery, humanity, and usefulness to the cause in which he was engaged. By his cunning and enterprise, he often succeeded in the capture of those who were lying in ambush for him. He entered the British lines, and remained several days in Savannah, in disguise, and, after informing himself of their strength and intentions, returned to the American camp with useful information to his commanding officer.

"In one of these excursions, an instance of bravery and humanity is recorded by the biographer of General Marion, which could not be credited if it was not well attested. While he was examining the British camp at Ebenezer, all the sympathy of his heart was awakened by the distresses of a Mrs. Jones, whose husband, an American by birth, had taken the king's protection, and been confined in irons for deserting the royal cause, after he had taken the oath of allegiance. Her well-founded belief was, that nothing short of the life of her husband would atone for the offence with which he was charged. Anticipating the awful scene of a beloved husband expiring on the gibbet, had excited inexpressible emotions of grief and distraction. Jasper secretly consulted

with his companion, Sergeant Newton, whose feelings for the distressed female and her child were equally excited with his own, upon the practicability of releasing Jones from his impending fate. Though they were unable to suggest a plan of operation, they were determined to watch for the most favourable opportunity, and make the effort.

The departure of Jones and several others, all in irons, to Savannah for trial, under a guard consisting of a sergeant, corporal, and eight men, was ordered upon the succeeding morning. Within two miles of Savannah, about thirty yards from the main road, is a spring of fine water, surrounded by a deep and thick underwood, where travellers often halt to refresh themselves with a cool draught from this pure fountain. Jasper and his companion selected this spot as the most favourable for their enterprise. They accordingly passed the ground, and concealed themselves near the spring.

When the enemy came up, they halted, and two of the guard only remained with the prisoners, while the others leaned their guns against trees in a careless manner, and went to the spring. Jasper and Newton sprung from their place of concealment, seized two of the muskets, and shot the sentinels. The possession of all the arms placed the enemy in their power, and compelled them to surrender. The irons were taken off from the prisoners, and arms put into their hands. The whole party arrived at Perryburg the next morning, and joined the American camp. There are but few instances upon record where personal exertions, even for self-preservation from certain prospect of death, would have induced a resort to an act so desperate of execution; how much more laudable was this, where the spring to action was roused by the lamentations of a female unknown to the adventurers!

"Those falling drops by woman shed,
Full many a captured heart have led."

"Subsequently to the gallant defence at Sullivan's Island, Colonel Moultrie's regiment was presented with a stand of colours by Mrs. Elliot, which she had richly embroidered with her own hands; and, as a reward to Jasper's particular merits, Governor Rutledge presented him with a very hand-

some sword. During the assault against Savannah, two officers had been killed and one wounded, endeavouring to plant these colours upon the enemy's parapet of the Springhill redoubt. Just before the retreat was ordered, Jasper endeavoured to replace them upon the works, and while he was in the act, received a mortal wound and fell into the ditch. When a retreat was ordered, he recollected the honorable condition upon which the donor presented the colours to his regiment, and among the last acts of his life, succeeded in bringing them off.

Major Horry called to see him soon after the retreat, to whom, it is said, he made the following communication: "I have got my furlough. That sword was presented to me by Governor Rutledge, for my services in the defence of fort Moultrie. Give it to my father, and tell him I have worn it with honour. If he should weep, tell him his son died in the hope of a better life. Tell Mrs. Elliot that I lost my life, supporting the colours which she presented to our regiment. If you should ever see Jones, his wife and son, tell them that Jasper is gone; but, that the remembrance of the battle which he fought for them, brought a secret joy to his heart when it was about to stop its motion forever." He expired a few minutes after closing this sentence.

The unrelenting and protracted obstinacy of the British government refusing to be just, and the successes of the Americans, especially at fort Moultrie, prepared their minds for independence. Congress, closely observing the tide of affairs, and the current of public opinion, seized on this favourable opportunity to effect a total separation of the colonies from the mother country.

Accordingly, on the 8th of June, a resolution was moved in Congress, by Richard Henry Lee, and seconded by John Adams, in the following words:

"Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; and that all political connection between them and Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved."

In support of this resolution Lee spoke as follows, and was heard with profound attention:

"I know not, whether among all the civil discords which have been recorded by historians, and which have been excited either by love of liberty in the people or by the ambition of princes, there has ever been presented a deliberation, more interesting or more important than that which now engages our attention; whether we consider the future destiny of this free and virtuous people, or that of our enemies themselves; who, notwithstanding their tyranny and this cruel war, are still our brethren, and descended from a common stock; or, finally, that of the other nations of the globe, whose eyes are intent upon the great spectacle, and who anticipate from our success more freedom for themselves, or from our defeat apprehend heavier chains and a severer bondage. For the question is not whether we shall acquire an increase of territorial dominion, or wickedly wrest from others their just possessions, but, whether we shall preserve, or lose forever, that liberty which we have inherited from our ancestors, which we have pursued across tempestuous seas, and which we have defended in this land against barbarous men, ferocious beasts, and an inclement sky. And if so many and distinguished praises have always been lavished upon the generous defenders of Greek and of Roman liberty, what will be said of us, who defend a liberty which is founded, not upon the capricious will of an unstable multitude, but upon immutable statutes and tutelary laws; not that which was the exclusive privilege of a few patricians, but that which is the property of all; not that which was stained by iniquitous ostracisms, or the horrible decimation of armies, but that which is pure, temperate, and gentle, and conformed to the civilization of the present age. Why then do we longer procrastinate, and wherefore are these delays? Let us complete the enterprise already so well commenced; and since our union with England can no longer consist with that liberty and peace which are our chief delight, let us dissolve these fatal ties, and conquer forever that good which we already enjoy; an entire and absolute independence.

"But ought I not to begin by observing that, if we have reached that violent extremity, beyond which nothing can any longer exist between America and England, but either such war or such peace as are made between foreign nations, this can only be imputed to the insatiable cupidity, the tyrannical proceedings, and the outrages, for ten years reiterated, of the British ministers? What have we not done to restore peace, to re-establish harmony? Who has not heard our prayers, and who is ignorant of our supplications? They have wearied the universe. England alone was deaf to our complaints, and wanted that compassion towards us, which we have found among all other nations. And as, at first, our forbearance, and then our resistance, have proved equally insufficient; since our prayers were unavailing, as well as the blood lately shed, we must go further, and proclaim our independence. Nor let any one believe that we have any other option left. The time will certainly come when the fated separation must take place, whether you will or no; for so it is decreed by the very nature of things—the progressive increase of our population, the fertility of our soil, the extent of our territory, the industry of our countrymen, and the immensity of the ocean which separates the two states. And if this be true, as it is most true, who does not see that the sooner it takes place the better; and that it would be not only imprudent, but the height of folly, not to seize the present occasion, when British injustice has filled all hearts with indignation, inspired all minds with courage, united all opinions in one, and put arms in every hand? And how long must we traverse three thousand miles of a stormy sea, to go and solicit of arrogant and insolent men, either counsels or commands to regulate our domestic affairs? Does it not become a great, rich, and powerful nation, as we are, to look at home, and not abroad, for the government of its own concerns? And how can a ministry of strangers judge, with any discernment, of our interests, when they know not, and when it little imports them to know, what is good for us, and what is not? The past justice of the British ministers should warn us against the future, if they should ever seize us again in

their cruel claws. Since it has pleased our barbarous enemies to place before us the alternative of slavery or of independence, where is the generous minded man, and the lover of his country, who can hesitate to choose? With these perfidious men no promise is secure, no pledges sacred, Let us suppose—which Heaven avert!—that we are conquered; let us suppose an accommodation. What assurance have we of the British moderation in victory or good faith in treaty? Is it their having enlisted and let loose against us the ferocious Indians and the merciless soldiers of Germany? Is it that faith, so often pledged and so often violated in the course of the present contest; this British faith, which is reputed more false than Punic? We ought rather to expect, that when we shall have fallen, naked and unarmed into their hands, they will wreak upon us their fury and their vengeance; they will load us with heavier chains, in order to deprive us not only of the power, but even of the hope of again recovering our liberty. But I am willing to admit, although it is a thing without example, that the British government will forget past offences and perform its promises; can we imagine that after so long dissensions, after so many outrages, so many combats, and so much bloodshed, our reconciliation could be durable, and that every day, in the midst of so much hatred and rancour, would not afford fresh subject of animosity? The two nations are already separated in interest and affections; the one is conscious of its ancient strength, the other has become acquainted with its newly exerted force; the one desires to rule in an arbitrary manner, the other will not obey, even if allowed its privileges. In such a state of things, what peace, what concord can be expected? The Americans may become faithful friends to the English, but subjects, never. And even though union could be restored without rancour, it could not without danger. The wealth and power of Great Britain should inspire prudent men with fears for the future. Having reached such a height of grandeur that she has no longer any thing to dread from foreign powers, in the security of peace the spirit of her people will decay; manners will be corrupted; her youth will grow up in the midst of vice; and in this state

of degeneration, England will become the prey of a foreign enemy, or an ambitious citizen. If we remain united with her, we shall partake of her corruptions and misfortunes, the more to be dreaded as they will be irreparable; separated from her, on the contrary, as we are, we should neither have to fear the seductions of peace, nor the dangers of war. By a declaration of our freedom, the perils would not be increased; but we should add to the ardour of our defenders, and to the splendour of victory.

"Let us then take a firm step, and escape from this labyrinth; we have assumed the sovereign power, and dare not confess it; we disobey a king, and acknowledge ourselves his subjects; wage war against a people, whom we incessantly protest our desire to defend. What is the consequence of so many inconsistencies? Hesitation paralyzes all our measures; the way we ought to pursue is not marked out; our generals are neither respected nor obeyed, our soldiers have neither confidence nor zeal; feeble at home, and little considered abroad, foreign princes can neither esteem nor succour so timid and wavering a people. But independence once proclaimed, and our object avowed, more manly and decided measures will be adopted; all minds will be fired by the greatness of the enterprise, the civil magistrates will be inspired with new zeal, the generals with fresh ardour, and the citizens with greater constancy, to attain so high and so glorious a destiny. There are some who seem to dread the effects of this resolution. But will England, or can she, manifest against us greater vigour and rage than she has already displayed? She deems resistance against oppression no less rebellion than independence itself. And where are those formidable troops that are to subdue the Americans? What the English could not do, can it be done by Germans? Are they more brave or better disciplined? The number of our enemies is increased; but our own is not diminished, and the battles we have sustained have given us the practice of arms and the experience of war. Who doubts, then, that a declaration of independence will procure us allies? All nations are desirous of procuring, by commerce, the produc-

tions of our exuberant soil; they will visit our ports, hitherto closed by the monopoly of insatiable England. They are no less eager to contemplate the reduction of her hated power; they all loathe her barbarous dominion; their succours will evince to our brave countrymen the gratitude they bear them for having been the first to shake the foundations of this Colossus. Foreign princes wait only for the extinction of all hazard of reconciliation, to throw off their present reserve. If this measure is useful, it is no less becoming our dignity. America has arrived at a degree of power which assigns her a place among independent nations; we are not less entitled to it than the English themselves. If they have wealth, so also have we; if they are brave, so are we; if they are numerous, our population, through the incredible fruitfulness of our chaste wives, will soon equal theirs; if they have men of renown as well in peace as in war, we likewise have such; political revolutions usually produce great, brave, and generous spirits. From what we have already achieved in these painful beginnings, it is easy to presume what we shall hereafter accomplish; for experience is the source of sage counsels, and liberty is the mother of great men. Have you not seen the enemy driven from Lexington by thirty thousand citizens armed and assembled in one day? Already their most celebrated generals have yielded in Boston to the skill of ours; already their seamen, repulsed from our coasts, wander over the ocean, where they are the sport of tempest, and the prey of famine. Let us hail the favourable omen, and fight not for the sake of knowing on what terms we are to be the slaves of England, but to secure to ourselves a free existence, to found a just and independent government. Animated by liberty, the Greeks repulsed the innumerable army of Persians; sustained by the love of independence, the Swiss and the Dutch humbled the power of Austria by memorable defeats, and conquered a rank among nations. But the sun of America also shines upon the heads of the brave; the point of our weapons is no less formidable than theirs; here also the same union prevails, the same contempt of dangers and of death in asserting the cause of country.

"Why then do we longer delay; why still deliberate? Let this most happy day give birth to the American republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of the laws. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of the citizens, with the ever-increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted repose. She intreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant, which first sprung up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade, all the unfortunate of the human race. This is the end presaged by so many omens; by our first victories; by the present ardour and union; by the flight of Howe, and the pestilence which broke out among Dunmore's people; by the very winds which baffled the enemy's fleets and transports, and that terrible tempest which engulfed 700 vessels upon the coasts of Newfoundland. If we are not, this day, wanting in our duty to our country, the names of the American legislators will be placed, by posterity, at the side of those of Theseus, of Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been, and will be, forever dear to virtuous men and good citizens."

Owing to the absence of the deputies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, as well as to the desire of manifesting a maturity of their deliberations, the farther consideration of the subject was postponed until the 1st of July.

This was a period of intense feeling and anxiety. The fearful *uncertainty* of the fate that awaited them, rendered the situation of the people peculiarly painful. The minds of many moved like a pendulum between hope and fear; seeking anxiously for the happy medium between monarchy and anarchy—the Sylla and Charybdis between which they were, or thought they were, sailing.

On the 1st of July, the subject was resumed, and the destiny of the nation carefully weighed in the minds of the im-

mortal sages of Congress; and on the *fourth of July*, the report of the committee, consisting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Philip Livingston, was adopted, dissolving the allegiance of the colonies to the British crown, and declaring them *free and independent*, under the name of the *Thirteen United States of America*.

The declaration of independence is attributed to Thomas Jefferson. Congress caused it to be published to the world in justification of their resolution to form an independent government.

This able manifesto, which appeals to the common sense, and thrills the souls of men who feel for the welfare of their race—which always has, and always will receive the highest encomiums from all who know their rights and the rights of mankind, we shall give entire.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4TH, 1776.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it; and to institute new governments, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long estab-

lished should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature: a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation: For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states: For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury: For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences: For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies: For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments: For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transport-

ing large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to

the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

John Hancock, President, from Massachusetts.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS.
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Eldridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND.
Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.
Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

DELAWARE.
Cæsar Rodney,
George Read.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

MARYLAND.
Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.
George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NEW YORK.
William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.
Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

NORTH CAROLINA.
William Hooper,

Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Haywood, Jr.,
Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
Arthur Middleton.

The joy of the people on receiving this declaration exceeded all bounds.

In Philadelphia, the artillery was fired, bonfires were kindled, and all kinds of public rejoicings took place. In New York, the statue of George III. was taken down, and after dragging it through the streets, the sons of liberty decided that the lead of which it was composed should be converted into musket-balls.

In Boston, the garrison was drawn up in order of battle in King street, (which from that time took the name of State street,) and thirteen salutes were fired by thirteen detachments, into which the troops were divided; the bells were rung; the ensigns of royalty—lions, sceptres, and crowns—were torn to pieces and committed to the flames.

In Virginia, it was decreed by the convention that the king's name should be suppressed in all the public prayers; and it was ordained that the seal of the commonwealth of Virginia should represent Virtue as the tutelary genius of the province, robed in the drapery of an Amazon; resting one hand upon her lance, and holding with the other a sword; trampling upon tyranny, under the figure of a prostrate man; having near him a crown fallen from his head, and bearing in one hand a broken chain, and in the other a scourge. At foot was charactered the word Virginia; and round the effigy of Virtue was inscribed, *Sic semper tyrannis.* The reverse represented a group of figures; in the middle stood Liberty with her wand and cap; on one side was Ceres, with the horn of plenty in the right hand, and a sheaf of wheat in the left; upon the other appeared Eternity, with the globe and the phœnix. At foot were found these words—*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

There was now no longer any difference of opinion as to

the character of the opposition to the British government. The people could now meet on one common ground. The spirit of freedom had at first flowed gently as rivulets; but, gradually gaining strength from various sources, they swelled into impetuous rivers, which now overwhelmed every thing that the British could employ to arrest them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Howe returns to New York—Lands on Staten Island—Preparations of Washington—Howe's Proclamations—Congress publishes Howe's Commission—Howe writes to Washington—His spirited Reply—Howe's Letter to Dr. Franklin—British land on Long Island—Battle of Long Island—Retreat to New York—Washington proposes the formation of a regular Army—Howe again attempts to treat with the Republicans—Americans abandon New York—Enemy land on New York Island—Great Fire at New York—Washington retreats to Harlem—King's Bridge—White Plains—North Castle—Reduction of Fort Washington—Retreat from Fort Lee—Washington retreats through New Jersey—Crosses the Delaware—Cruel Treatment of American Prisoners.

"Now, from the grey mist of the ocean, the white sailed ships of the *enemy* appear. High is the grove of their masts, as they nod, by turns, on the rolling wave."

"Eternal spirit of the chainless mind!
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty, thou art,
For there thy habitation is the heart—
The heart which love of thee alone can bind:
And when thy sons to fetters are consign'd—
To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless gloom,
Their country conquers with their martyrdom,
And Freedom's fame finds wing on every wind."

BEFORE we proceed, it may be proper to remind the reader that the unsuccessful attempt of the enemy to take Charleston was a part of that grand and favourite campaign of the British ministers to crush the colonists at one fell swoop, of which we spoke in a cursory manner in the last chapter. We shall now attempt to describe another part of the same plan.

The army of General Howe, having now sufficiently recovered from "the stings and arrows of outrageous fortune," which they had suffered at Boston, departed from Halifax on the 11th of June, and proceeded to Sandy Hook, to await

reinforcements from Europe, under his brother Admiral Howe. General Howe took possession of Staten Island on the 2d of July, and quartered his troops about the villages. Here his brother, after touching at Halifax, where he found despatches urging him to come to New York, arrived on the 12th of July. About the same time General Clinton arrived with his troops, from the terrible defeat at fort Moultrie. The Hessians and Waldeckers, employed as mercenaries by the British government, also arrived, when the army, now preparing to take New York, amounted to about 35,000 of the very best troops of Europe.

Washington, anticipating that the possession of New York would be a favourite object of the enemy, had removed with the principal part of his troops to that city soon after the British evacuated Boston; and, having now obtained undoubted information that the great armament already mentioned was to be directed against New York, he threw up strong entrenchments, both there and on Long Island, to oppose the enemy's fleet up the North and East rivers. The American army amounted to 27,000 men, but many were invalids and others destitute of arms.

The corps stationed at Long Island was commanded by Major-General Green, but, on account of sickness, he was succeeded by General Sullivan. Putnam, with a great part of the army, was encamped at Brooklyn, on another part of the same island, forming a kind of peninsula, or *almost an island within an island*. Excuse the blunder, it conveys the idea, the legitimate object of language. The neck of this peninsula Putnam defended with moats and entrenchments. His wings extended from Wallabout Bay to near Gowan's Cove. Look at a large map, reader, if you please, and enjoy the splendid plan of Washington to defend your rights. In the rear of Putnam's corps you see Governor's Island and the East river, which gave him a direct communication with New York, where a part of the army was stationed under Washington himself. In front of his entrenchments are the heights of Guan, a chain of hills covered with woods, and running from west to east, dividing the island into two parts.

Here the corps of Sullivan, already spoken of, was stationed. The militia of the province, under the American general Clinton, occupied East Chester, West Chester, and Rochelle.

The two rampant armies thus situated, the one ready for the attack, the other for the defence, Admiral and General Howe announced to the colonists that they were authorized to settle all difficulties—to grant general or particular pardons to those who would return to their duty, and to proclaim any province or city to be in the king's peace, which would remove the effect of the law against *rebellion*.

"Rebellion! foul, dishonour'd word,
Whose wrongful blight so oft has stain'd
The holiest cause that tongue or sword
Of mortal ever lost or gain'd.
How many a spirit, born to bless,
Has sunk beneath that withering name,
Whom but a day's, an hour's success,
Had wafted to eternal fame!
As exhalations, when they burst
From the warm earth, if chill'd at first,
If check'd in soaring from the plain,
Darken to fogs and sink again;
But, if they once triumphant spread
Their wings above the mountain-head,
Become enthroned in upper air,
And turn to sunbright glories there!"

In addition to the promise of pardon, the commissioners offered a bribe (for such it really was) to those who should assist in re-establishing the royal authority. These writings were circulated through the country; and Washington sent to Congress, by express, a proclamation they addressed to Amboy.

Congress, satisfied that the commission of the Howes, sanctioned by Parliament, extended little farther than "to grant pardons to such as deserve mercy," they resolved to publish it in the papers, that the people might not be disarmed by the wiles of the enemy.

A letter, addressed to George Washington, Esq., was brought from Admiral Lord Howe. The general refused to receive it, stating that he would not hold any communication

with the commanders of the king as a private individual. The commissioners then addressed the letter *To George Washington, &c. &c.*, and Adjutant-General Patterson was sent with this despatch. Patterson, in conversation, gave Washington the title of *Excellency*. He apologized for the manner in which the letter was directed, assuring him of the high regard the commissioners entertained of his personal character, and that the et ceteras were in use between ambassadors disagreeing on points of etiquette. Washington told him that a letter written to a person invested with a public character, should specify it, otherwise it could not be distinguished from a private letter; that it was true the et ceteras implied everything; but it was no less true that they implied anything; and that, as to himself, he would never consent to receive any letter, relating to public affairs, that should be directed to him, without a designation of his rank and office. Patterson then began to talk of the clemency and goodness of the king in choosing as negotiator Lord and General Howe! Such arguments, addressed to such a man as Washington, are really funny. The goodness of tyranny, preached to the very personification of wisdom and patriotism, might have extorted a broad grin from Heraclitus himself.

Washington told him he was not authorized to negotiate; but that it did not appear that the powers of the commissioners consisted in any more than in granting pardons; that America, not having committed any offence, asked for no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights. This closed the conference and Patterson withdrew. Congress highly approved of Washington's dignified conduct, and decreed, that in future none of their officers should receive letters or messages, on the part of the enemy, that were not addressed to them according to their respective rank.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who had returned from England, was now a leading member of Congress. To him Lord Howe addressed a letter soon after his arrival, informing him of the nature of his commission, to establish peace; and requested his aid to accomplish this desired end. Franklin answered, that, preparatory to any propositions of amity or peace, it

would be required *that Great Britain should acknowledge the independence of America; defray the expenses of the war; and indemnify the colonies for burning their towns.* This, he said, he gave as his own opinion, and that what he had said was not authorized by those whom the Americans had invested with the power of peace or war.

Lord Howe and his brother, fully convinced that dunces and cowards were not very numerous in America, resolved upon immediate hostilities.

On the 22d of August, the fleet approached the west coast of Long Island, and the troops debarked, under cover of the ships, between the villages of Gravesend and Utrecht, near the narrows which separate this island from Staten Island.

Perceiving that battle was approaching, Washington issued the following orders:

"The enemy having now landed upon Long Island, the hour is fast approaching in which the honour and success of this army and the safety of our bleeding country depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen fighting for the blessing of liberty; that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage has been despised and traduced by your cruel invaders; though they have found by dear experience at Boston, Charlestown, and other places, what a few brave men can do in their own land, and in the best of causes, against hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool, be determined. Do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers."

Upon the landing of the British under Lieutenant-General Clinton near Utrecht and Gravesend, a regiment of Pennsylvanians, under Colonel Hand, retired from the coast to the woody heights, to assist in guarding a pass, leading through Flatbush to the American camp at Brooklyn. Lord Cornwallis was detached to seize this pass if not occupied, but not to risk an engagement if guarded by the Americans. The place being guarded, Cornwallis took post in the village. The British army now extended from the landing at the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend to the village of Flatland,

another point far to their right, where the heights are practicable by a circuitous route to Brooklyn.

De Heister landed on the 25th of July, with two brigades of Hessians, and took post the next day at Flatbush, when, in the evening, Lord Cornwallis with the British proceeded to Flatland. Major-General Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coast, near which there is another route to Brooklyn.

Upon the top of the heights, a road follows the length of the range, leading from Bedford to Jamaica, and is intersected by the two roads already described. The posts upon this road were very frequent, and prompt intelligence could be transmitted from one to the other, of the movements of the enemy on the three routes.

The centre of the enemy at Flatbush, was only about four miles distant from the lines at Brooklyn, and their right and left wings about five or six miles from them.

On the 26th, Washington passed the day at Brooklyn, making arrangements for the approaching action, and renewing his efforts to infuse his own spirit into the minds of others. At night he returned to New York.

The plan of the enemy was, to seize the point of intersection of the road leading from Flatland, with that of Jamaica; and then, rapidly descending into the plain, to fall upon the flank and rear of the Americans. Colonel Miles, who was stationed near Flatbush, was also to guard the road of Flatland, and to scour it continually with his scouts, as well as that of Jamaica.

On the evening of the 26th, about nine o'clock, General Clinton, commanding the van-guard, consisting of light infantry; Lord Percy the grenadiers, artillery, and cavalry in the centre; and Lord Cornwallis the rear, followed by some regiments of infantry, of heavy artillery, and the baggage; withdrew silently from Flatland across the country, through a part which is called New Lotts, and about two hours before daybreak arrived undiscovered within half a mile of the Jamaica road. Here his patrols captured, without giving alarm, one of the American parties, stationed on the road to give

notice of the enemy's approach. Finding the pass unoccupied, General Clinton immediately took possession of it; and as soon as day appeared, he bore to his left towards Bedford. Lord Percy coming up with his corps, the entire column descended from the heights, by the village of Bedford, into the level country between the heights and Brooklyn! This movement decided the fortunes of the day.

While Clinton was executing this stratagem on the left of the Americans, General Grant advanced along the coast to divert their attention: and General Heister, with the same object in view, attacked the centre at break of day. General Grant had put himself in motion about midnight, and had attacked the militia of New York and Pennsylvania, who guarded the route along the coast. At first the Americans gave way, but General Parsons arriving, he took up a position on an eminence, and renewing the combat, he maintained it until Brigadier-General Lord Sterling came to his aid with 1500 men. The engagement now became very animated, but not decisive. The attack made upon the centre by the Hessians, was valiantly sustained by the Americans, commanded by General Sullivan in person. At the same time the enemy's ships opened a cannonade against a battery on the little island of Red Hook, on the right flank of the Americans who opposed General Grant.

While the Americans were thus gallantly defending two passes, they were still unacquainted with the real design of the enemy, and the great danger that threatened their destruction from another quarter. General Clinton, after detaching a strong corps to intercept their retreat, fell upon the left flank of the troops under Sullivan, engaged with the Hessians.

Apprized of their danger by the appearance of the English light infantry, they sounded the retreat and retired in good order towards the camp, not even leaving their artillery. But, as they were retiring from the woods by regiments, they encountered the British troops which had occupied the ground on their rear, and who now made a furious attack upon them. They fled to the woods, where they again en-

countered the Hessians. Thus attacked in front and rear—driven by the British to the Hessians, and from the Hessians to the British, with great loss, some of them at last became desperate, and with heroic valour fought their way through the enemy and gained the camp, while others escaped through the woods. Generals Sullivan and Woodhull were taken prisoners.

The firing towards Brooklyn apprized Lord Sterling of the fact that the enemy had gained their rear; and aware that his only prospect of escape was a precipitate retreat across a creek in his rear, near the Yellow Mills, not far from Gowan's Cove, orders were given accordingly; and, to favour its success, he attacked Cornwallis, stationed at a house just above the place where he intended to cross the creek. A spirited attack was made, and Cornwallis was on the point of being dislodged from his post by a small number of Americans; but the British forces increasing in front, and General Grant advancing on the rear, these brave men were all either killed, or, with their general, taken prisoners. This engagement, however, gave a large part of the detachment an opportunity to escape to the camp by crossing the creek.

The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and prisoners, in this unfortunate engagement, is variously estimated, at from one to three thousand; and that of the British at about four hundred.

It would be vain to hide the truth: an egregious error was obviously committed in not properly guarding the pass from Flatland to the Jamaica road, and from this cross-road to Bedford, and depending too much upon scouts, liable to be secured without being able to give the alarm. Colonel Miles has been censured by some historians, but his station near Flatbush, with the Hessians in front, was certainly not a favourable one to watch the movements of the enemy at Flatland. We do not pretend to decide who was in fault, but it is certain that General Woodhull, who had been ordered by the Convention of New-York to take post on the high grounds, was still at Jamaica when the enemy took possession of the road between that place and the American

army. The American officers, it is very manifest, were also deceived by the feints already described, and by the probability that the British would direct their principal force against the pass along the coast, which was the direct route to Brooklyn.

In the heat of the action, General Washington passed over to the camp at Brooklyn, from New-York, where he saw with the deepest anguish the destruction in which some of his best troops were involved, without the possibility of extricating them. If he had attempted it with the troops at Brooklyn, the camp would probably have been lost, owing to the superiority of the enemy; and to bring over the troops from New York, his forces would still have been inferior to those of the enemy, and the fate of his country would probably have depended upon a single battle, under very unfavourable circumstances.

The enemy encamped in front of the American lines; and on the night of the 28th broke ground in form within six hundred paces of a bastion on the left. The English works were pushed with great ardour, and their formidable artillery rendered the destruction of the American works certain if they remained. The Americans, greatly inferior in numbers, discouraged by defeat, overwhelmed with fatigue, exposed to torrents of rain, which also injured their arms and ammunition, could not be expected to make a very vigorous defence. Independent of the danger to be apprehended from the enemy on the island, if the wind should become favourable they might force a passage up the East river and cut off the retreat.

A council of war being assembled, it was resolved to evacuate Long Island and withdraw to New York.

The following account of this retreat is given by Goodrich: "Seldom, if ever, was a retreat conducted with more ability and prudence, or under more favourable auspices, than that of the American troops from Long Island. The necessary preparations having been made, on the 29th of August, at eight in the evening, the troops began to move in the greatest silence. But they were not on board their vessels

before eleven. A violent north-east wind and the ebb tide, which rendered the current very rapid, prevented the passage. The time pressed, however. Fortunately, the wind suddenly veered to the north-west; they immediately made sail, and landed in New York. Providence appeared to have watched over the Americans. About two o'clock in the morning, a thick fog, and at this season of the year extraordinary, covered all Long Island, whereas the air was perfectly clear on the side of New York. Notwithstanding the entreaties of his officers, Washington remained the last upon the shore. It was not till the next morning, when the sun was already high and the fog dispelled, that the English perceived the Americans had abandoned their camp, and were sheltered from pursuit."

"Whoever will attend to all the details of this retreat," says Botta, "will easily believe that no military operation was ever conducted by great captains with more ability and prudence, or under more favourable auspices."

Even the enemy speak of this retreat in praises. Hear him: "At first the wind and the tide were both unfavourable to the Americans; nor was it thought possible that they could have effected their retreat on the evening of the 29th, until, about eleven o'clock, the wind shifting, and the sea becoming more calm, the boats were enabled to pass. Another remarkable circumstance was, that on Long Island hung a thick fog, which prevented the British troops from discovering the operations of the enemy; while on the side of New York the atmosphere was perfectly clear. The retreat was effected in thirteen hours, though 9000 men had to pass over the river, besides field-artillery, ammunition, provisions, cattle, horses, and carts.

"The circumstances of this retreat were particularly glorious to the Americans. They had been driven to the corner of an island, where they were hemmed in within the narrow space of two square miles. In their front was an encampment of near *twenty thousand men;* in their rear, an arm of the sea, a mile wide, which they could not cross but by several embarkations. *Notwithstanding these difficulties,*

they secured a retreat without the loss of a man. The pickets of the English army arrived only in time to fire upon their rear-guard, already too far removed from the shore to receive any damage."

The garrison of Governor's Island being in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, withdrew, with all their artillery and munitions, without accident, almost in the presence of the English ships, and joined the army at New York.

Alarmed and discouraged, and believing that all was lost, some of the militia, who had been armed for an emergency, became more and more intractable, and began to leave the army in hundreds, some in whole regiments, and returned home. This produced a very injurious effect on the regular troops, whose engagement was but for a year, and some only for a few weeks. Filled with the thoughts of soon returning home, they were unwilling to expose themselves to great dangers; and, had not Washington possessed extraordinary influence, the army would have been dispersed.

Washington, seconded by the other chief officers, urged upon Congress the indispensable necessity of forming a regular army, in which the soldiers should be enlisted to serve during the continuance of the war. Congress decreed that it should be formed; and that it should be composed of eighty-eight battalions, to be raised in all the provinces, according to their respective abilities. Congress also decreed that a bounty of twenty dollars should be given to each man at the time of engagement, and portions of unoccupied lands were also promised to the officers and soldiers. But from the difficulty of finding men to enlist during the whole period of the war, the resolution was modified to allow them to engage for three years, or during the continuance of the war.

General Howe, believing that the terror his success had inspired would induce the Americans to resume the British yoke, sent General Sullivan, whom he had made prisoner on Long Island, to Congress with a message, that although he could not consistently treat with that assembly in the character they had assumed, yet he would gladly confer with

some of their members in their private capacity, and would meet them at any place they would appoint. He again spoke of his ample powers to terminate the contest upon conditions advantageous to both Great Britain and America.

Apprehensive that such a proposition, if not attended to, might mislead the people, Congress appointed deputies to hear them. The deputies consisted of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, all zealous advocates of independence.

On the 11th of September, they met the commissioners on Staten Island, opposite Amboy. Admiral Howe said that though he could not treat with them as a committee of Congress, yet he was authorized to confer with any gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of restoring peace; and that he felt a real gratification, on the present occasion, to discourse with them upon this important subject.

The deputies replied that since they were come to hear him, he was at liberty to look upon them in what light he pleased; that they could not, however, consider themselves in any other character than that in which Congress had placed them. Howe then proceeded to business: he demanded that the colonies should return to their allegiance and duty towards the British crown; he assured them of the earnest desire of the king to make his government easy and acceptable to them in every respect; that those acts of Parliament which were so obnoxious to them, would undergo a *revisal*, and the instructions to governors would be *reconsidered; that if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts or instructions, they might be removed!*

The deputies now recounted the tyrannical acts of Parliament, and the many ineffectual attempts by petitions and supplications to procure their repeal; and that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. There was no doubt, they said, that the Americans were inclined to peace, and willing to enter into any treaty with Britain that might be advantageous to both countries. If there was the same good disposition on her part, it would be easier for the commissioners, though not empowered at pre-

sent to treat with them as independent states, to obtain fresh powers from their government for that purpose, than it would be for the Congress to procure them from the colonies to consent to submission. This ended the conference; and Howe expressed a regret that there was no longer any hope of an accommodation.

The deputies reported to Congress, and their conduct was approved.

The British ships cruised along the coast, sometimes threatening one place, and sometimes another. A part of the fleet doubled Long Island, and appeared in the sound which communicates with the East river by a narrow channel called *Hell Gate.*

The main body of the British fleet was moved near Governor's Island, ready to attack the city, or enter either the East or the Hudson river. Some of the ships were continually engaged with the batteries along the shore, and on the little islands in the East river.

Washington had 4500 men in New York; 6500 at Harlem, a village at the opening of the sound; and 12,000 at Kingsbridge, at the end of the island of New York, which he had strongly fortified, to secure a communication with the main land, and prevent the enemy from taking it by surprise, and cut off his retreat from the island. But as the enemy had command of the sound, it was feared that they would land under the protection of their ships, in the centre of the island, near the mouth of the sound, and intercept the retreat of all the troops in the city and its environs. A council of war was assembled, to deliberate upon the immediate evacuation of the city. The majority decided against the measure, but the English having reinforced themselves at the entrance of the sound, a second council of war decided on the necessity of abandoning the city. In a few days the garrison marched out, and formed a junction with the soldiers stationed at Harlem, leaving the city in the power of the enemy.

With a view to divert the attention of the American generals, some of the enemy's ships had entered the Hudson, while General Clinton, who had entered the East river through

Hell Gate, disembarked at Kipp's Bay, three miles north of New York, under the protection of their ships. Washington sent a reinforcement to this point; but the militia fled on the approach of the enemy, and after the commander-in-chief had rallied them in person, they fled again.

The British, after sending a strong detachment to take possession of New York, encamped in the centre of the island, extending the right wing to Horen's Hook, on the East river, and the left to Bloomingdale, on the Hudson.

By referring to a map, the reader will observe the proximity of the two armies. The position of the Americans, on the heights of Harlem, was only a mile and a half from the British outposts. This led to frequent skirmishes, which Washington encouraged, to revive the drooping courage of the soldiers. Some English and Hessians were one day led into an ambuscade by the Americans, and severely handled, for which he commended their valour in his official letters.

A few days after the British took possession of New York, a tremendous fire broke out, and, excited by the wind, spread with fearful rapidity, and destroyed about one-fourth of the city. Some supposed it to have been the work of the Americans, while others attributed it to chance. Several Americans, suspected as the authors of the disaster, were seized by the enraged enemy, and precipitated into the fire.

Strongly entrenched on the heights of Harlem, Washington could throw defiance into the very teeth of General Howe, who did not even attempt to dislodge him, but resolved to take up a position behind that of the Americans, at Kingsbridge. Leaving Lord Percy with several brigades of English and Hessians in the camp of Harlem to protect New York, he embarked in flat-bottomed boats, passed through Hell Gate into the sound, and landed at Frog's Neck. In a few days, after the arrival of reinforcements from Staten Island, he proceeded towards Kingsbridge, over a rough and stony road, encountering many obstacles which the Americans had thrown in his way to impede his progress. In the meantime Washington assembled his whole army at Kingsbridge, from which

he now sent out his light infantry to scour the country and harass the enemy in his march.

The British general, anxious to cut off the communication of the Americans with the eastern provinces, if he could not shut them up in New York island, determined to secure the posts of the Highlands, known by the name of White Plains, in the rear of Kingsbridge. The sagacity and vigilance of Washington enabled him to penetrate the design of the enemy, and he withdrew the main army from Kingsbridge; and extending his left wing, he took post on White Plains, while the right reached to Valentine's Hill, near Kingsbridge. By referring to a map, it will be seen that this line extends along the river Brunx, where the chief commander entrenched himself with great care. The river was in front of the Americans, and the enemy marched up on the opposite shore.

Just before the arrival of the British at White Plains, Washington withdrew his troops from the position on the Brunx and assembled them on the heights, near the plains, in front of the British.

> "In vain sage Washington, from hill to hill,
> Plays round his foes with more than Fabian skill,
> Retreats, advances, lures them to his snare,
> To balance numbers by the shifts of war."

On the 28th of October, the British army appeared before the American camp. They attacked, and, after a desperate struggle, carried a position which Macdougall had been ordered to take about a mile from the American camp, to protect its right wing. Night approaching, the British general deferred operations till the next day. Washington took advantage of the delay, strengthened his camp and posted his army in such a manner that its formidable appearance induced Howe to wait for reinforcements. The British having erected batteries, threatened to turn the right wing of the Americans and gain the height in the rear; Washington broke up his camp and removed to a country still more mountainous, near North Castle, on the 2d of November. The object of the enemy was to strike a decisive and fatal

blow, but the wisdom and skill of our commander prevented it *and saved his country.*

Howe, finding it exceedingly unprofitable to attempt to catch an old fox in the mountains, abandoned the pursuit and resolved upon the reduction of fort Washington, on the left bank of the Hudson, ten miles above New York; and on the 8th of November he drew off his army towards Kingsbridge, and on the 16th the English and Hessians invested the fort, and, after a severe contest, which lasted nearly all day, Col. Magaw, who commanded the fort, finding his ammunition nearly exhausted, was obliged to surrender. The garrison, consisting of 2600 men, became prisoners of war. The enemy lost 800 men, and the Americans had only a few killed.

Howe, having now entire possession of New York island, sent Cornwallis with 6000 men to invest fort Lee, on the opposite side of the river; but General Greene drew off the garrison, abandoned the fort, and retired to the other side of the Hackensack.

The loss of these forts enabled the enemy to penetrate into New Jersey, and to menace Philadelphia itself. Washington, having anticipated the fall of these fastnesses, had already crossed the Hudson and proceeded to join General Greene. General Lee, who had been left in charge of the post last occupied by the commander-in-chief, had orders to join the main army if the enemy should appear on the right bank of the Hudson, which they soon did in great numbers, inundating the country, and spreading terror among the people. The American army retreated across the Passaic river to Newark. The militia having disbanded and gone home, Washington was almost abandoned by his army. Even the regular troops filed off and deserted in large parties, until the army amounted to less than three thousand. Enfeebled in numbers, discouraged by reverses, exposed in an open country to the inclemency of the season, without tents or entrenching tools, surrounded by loyalists, who endeavoured to spread terror through the country, to induce others to change sides and make peace with the enemy, and rapidly pursued by the British hosts, the American army was but a

feeble support, indeed, to the infant republic, which was threatened with irretrievable ruin. Washington retreated from Newark to Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton; and on the 8th of December crossed to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, while Lord Cornwallis was close in his rear; but finding no means to cross the river, he established his head-quarters at Trenton.

Amid all these accumulated misfortunes, the hero of the republic, whose invincible soul could neither be vanquished nor shaken, trusting in Providence and the justice of his cause, showed himself to his soldiers with a cheerful countenance; and the members of congress, resolved to stand or fall with the republic, and to aid their chief through good or adverse fortune, calmly drew up various *articles of confederation and perpetual union between the states.* Men who can rise superior to such dangers and terrors as surround them, in an apparently hopeless cause, appear rather the instruments in the hands of God, to accomplish a mighty work, than the mere representatives of men. The condition of their minds, calm, collected and dignified, in their present deplorable situation, presents the most sublime picture of patriotism the world ever produced.

The treatment of the prisoners at New York would have disgraced barbarians. The sick and the well were all thrown together; exposed to hunger, cold, and impure air; insulted by the soldiers and loyalists, hauled wounded and bleeding through the streets, without clothing, on carts, as a public spectacle, to be hissed by the populace as traitors and rebels. Exposed to all these outrages, more than 1500 of these unfortunate men perished in a few weeks.

"But of all tales that war's black annals hold,
The darkest, foulest still remains untold;
New modes of torture wait the shameful strife,
And Britain wantons in the waste of life.

Cold-blooded Cruelty, first fiend of hell,
Ah, think no more with savage hordes to dwell;
Quit the Caribbean tribes who eat their slain,
Fly that grim gang, the inquisitors of Spain,

Boast not thy deeds in Moloch's shrines of old,
Leave Barbary's pirates to their blood-bought gold,
Let Holland steal her victims, force them o'er
To toils and death on Java's morbid shore;
Some cloak, some colour all these crimes may plead;
'Tis avarice, passion, blind religion's deed;
But Britons here, in this fraternal broil,
Grave, cool, deliberate in thy service toil.
Far from the nation's eye, whose nobler soul
Their wars would humanize, their pride control,
They lose the lessons that her laws impart,
And change the British for the brutal heart.
Fired by no passion, madden'd by no zeal,
No priest, no Plutus bids them not to feel;
Unpaid, gratuitous, on torture bent,
Their sport is death, their pastime to torment;
All other gods they scorn, but bow the knee,
And curb, well-pleased, O Cruelty, to thee.

Come then, cursed goddess, where thy votaries reign,
Inhale their incense from the land and main;
Come to New York, their conquering arms to greet,
Brood o'er their camp and breathe along their fleet;
The brother chiefs of Howe's illustrious name
Demand thy labours to complete their fame.
What shrieks of agony thy praises sound!
What grateless dungeons groan beneath the ground!
See the black Prison Ship's expanding womb
Impested thousands, quick and dead, entomb.
Barks after barks the captured seamen bear,
Transboard and lodge thy silent victims there;
A hundred scows, from all the neighbouring shore,
Spread the dull sail and ply the constant oar,
Waft wrecks of armies from the well-fought field,
And famish'd garrisons who bravely yield;
They mount the hulk, and, cramm'd within the cave,
Hail their last house, their living, floating grave.

She comes, the fiend! her grinning jaws expand,
Her brazen eyes cast lightning o'er the strand,
Her wings like thunder-clouds the welkin sweep,
Brush the tall spires and shade the shuddering deep;
She gains the deck, displays her wonted store,
Her cords and scourges wet with prisoners' gore;
Gripes, pincers, thumb-screws spread beneath her feet,
Slow poisonous drugs and loads of putrid meat;

Disease hangs drizzling from her slimy locks,
And hot contagion issues from her box.
O'er the closed hatches ere she takes her place,
She moves the massy planks a little space,
Opes a small passage to the cries below,
That feast her soul on messages of wo;
There sits with gaping ear and changeless eye,
Drinks every groan and treasures every sigh;
Sustains the faint, their miseries to prolong,
Revives the dying and unnerves the strong.
But as the infected mass resign their breath,
She keeps with joy the register of death.
As, toss'd through portholes from the encumber'd cave,
Corpse after corpse fall dashing in the wave;
Corpse after corpse, for days and months and years,
The tide bears off, and still its current clears;
At last, o'erloaded with the putrid gore,
The slime-clad waters thicken round the shore,
Green ocean's self, that oft his wave renews,
That drinks whole fleets with all their battling crews,
That laves, that purifies the earth and sky,
Yet ne'er before resigned his natural dye,
Here purples, blushes for the race he bore
To rob and ravage this unconquer'd shore,
The scaly nations, as they travel by,
Catch the contagion, sicken, gasp and die."

We will here drop the curtain, to hide these tragic scenes of distress, observing, with Congress, a "day of solemn fasting and humiliation before God, and call upon the states to furnish militia; rightly believing that divine aid can only be expected by those who do their duty."

CHAPTER IX.

Pennsylvanians aroused to defend the Capital—Capture of General Lee—Great Powers of Washington—Re-crosses the Delaware—Assumes the Offensive—Surprises the Enemy at Trenton—Returns to Pennsylvania Side with the Prisoners, &c.—Hessians paraded through Philadelphia—Washington again crosses the Delaware—Wrenches New Jersey from the Enemy and astonishes the World—Alarm of the British Commander.

"So flies a herd of beeves, that hear, dismay'd,
The lions roaring through the midnight shade."

In this unpromising situation of affairs, Generals Mifflin and Armstrong, possessing great influence in Pennsylvania, went through the state addressing the people and arousing them to arms to defend the capital and the country.

"Rise, ye men! if ye inherit
From a line of noble sires
Saxon blood and Saxon spirit,
Rise to guard your household fires.
From each rocky hill and valley
Rise against the invading band;
In the name of Freedom, rally
To defend your native land.

"Foemen's feet your soil are pressing,
Hostile banners meet your eye;
Ask from Heaven a Father's blessing,
Then for freedom dare to die.
What though veteran foes assail you,
Fill'd with confidence and pride;
Let not hope or courage fail you,
Freedom's God is on your side.

"To the winds your flag unfolding,
Rally round it in your might,
Each his weapon firmly holding,
Heaven will aid you in the fight.
By the mothers that have borne you,
By your wives and children dear,
Lest your loved ones all should scorn you,
Rise without a thought of fear.

"Come as comes the tempest rushing,
Bending forests in its path,
As the mountain torrent gushing,
As the billows in their wrath:
From each rocky hill and valley
Sweep away the invading band;
In the name of Freedom, rally
To defend your native land."

The tardy movements of General Lee to join Washington according to orders, plainly indicated that he either preferred the command of a separate army, or considered it advisable to remain in the mountainous parts of New Jersey to be ready to fall on the right flank of the British army. On the 6th of December he crossed the North River at King's Ferry, with 3000 men and some pieces of cannon.

On the 13th, being at a place called Baskinbridge, about twenty miles from the quarters of the enemy, he incautiously separated himself from his army to reconnoitre. He took up his quarters at a house three miles distant from the main body, attended by a slender guard, where he was taken prisoner.

"General Lee wasted the morning in altercation with certain militia corps who were of his command, particularly the Connecticut light horse, several of whom appeared in large full-bottomed perukes, and were treated very irreverently; the call of the adjutant-general for orders, also occupied some of his time, and we did not sit down to breakfast before ten o'clock. General Lee was engaged in answering General Gates's letter, and I had risen from the table, and was looking out of an end window, down a lane about one hundred yards in length, which led to the house from the main road, when I discovered a party of British dragoons turn a corner of the avenue at a full charge. Startled at this unexpected spectacle, I exclaimed, 'Here, sir, are the British cavalry.' 'Where?' replied the general, who had signed his letter in the instant. 'Around the house;' for they had opened files and encompassed the building. General Lee appeared alarmed, yet collected, and his second observation marked his self-possession: 'Where is the guard?—damn

the guard, why don't they fire?' and after a momentary pause, he turned to me and said, 'Do, sir, see what has become of the guard.' The women of the house at this moment entered the room, and proposed to him to conceal himself in a bed, which he rejected with evident disgust. I caught up my pistols, which lay on the table, thrust the letter he had been writing into my pocket, and passed into a room at the opposite end of the house, where I had seen the guard in the morning. Here I discovered their arms; but the men were absent. I stepped out of the door, and perceived the dragoons chasing them in different directions, and receiving a very uncivil salutation, I returned into the house.

"Too inexperienced immediately to penetrate the motives of this enterprise, I considered the *rencontre* accidental, and from the terrific tales spread over the country, of the violence and barbarity of the enemy, I believed it to be a wanton, murdering party, and determined not to die without company. I accordingly sought a position where I could not be approached by more than one person at a time; and with a pistol in each hand I awaited the expected search, resolved to shoot the first and the second person who might appear, and then to appeal to my sword. I did not remain long in this unpleasant situation, but was apprized of the object of the incursion by the very audible declaration, '*If the general does not surrender in five minutes, I will set fire to the house!*' which after a short pause was repeated with a solemn oath; and within two minutes I heard it proclaimed, '*Here is the general, he has surrendered!*' A general shout ensued, the trumpet sounded the assembly, and the unfortunate Lee, mounted on my horse, which stood ready at the door, was hurried off in triumph, bareheaded, in his slippers and blanket-coat, his collar open, and his shirt very much soiled from several days' use.

"What a lesson of caution is to be derived from this event, and how important the admonitions furnished by it! What an evidence of the caprice of fortune, of the fallibility of ambitious projects, and the inscrutable ways of Heaven! The capture of General Lee was felt as a public calamity; it cast a gloom over the country, and excited general sorrow. This

sympathy was honourable to the people, and due to the stranger who had embarked his fortune with theirs, and determined to share their fate, under circumstances of more than common peril."—*Wilkinson*.

General Sullivan, who succeeded General Lee, obeyed the orders of Washington promptly. He crossed the Delaware at Phillipsbourgh, and joined him about the close of December. The American army now consisted of about 7000 men; but as the term of the greater part expired with the year, it was threatened with total dissolution.

Stationed in extensive cantonments through New Jersey, a distance of eighty miles, and separated from Philadelphia by the river Delaware only, the enemy waited for that river to be frozen, which would enable them to cross with the greatest facility. The situation of the Americans was desperate, and the expedient adopted by General Washington, now invested by Congress with dictatorial powers for six months, evinced his firm resolve to cut the *cordon* of the British line or die in the attempt.

The night of *Christmas* was appointed to resume the offensive—to re-cross the Delaware and surprise the corps of Hessians at Trenton. He divided his army, consisting chiefly of Pennsylvania and Virginia militia, into three corps. With the first, numbering about 2500, he crossed the Delaware in company with Generals Sullivan and Greene, at McConkey's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton. The second, commanded by General Irwin, was directed to cross at Trenton Ferry; and the third, under General Cadwallader, was to cross at Bristol, and proceed to Burlington. Washington, after great exertions, succeeded in effecting his part of the enterprise, through the floating ice that obstructed the river, and landed at four o'clock in the morning. Pushing rapidly to Trenton by two separate roads—the one along the river, the other the Pennington road (where he commanded in person)—he reached the town at eight o'clock in the morning, before the Hessians, under Rahl, had any suspicion of his approach. Their advanced guards were immediately routed. A regiment was sent to their aid, but the first line threw the

second into disorder, and all scampered off to Trenton. Rahl then drew out his troops to meet the Americans in the field; but here he was furiously attacked by the *re-animated* Americans; and being mortally wounded in the onset, his troops fled from the battle-field, and left six pieces of light artillery. Attempting to escape by the Princeton road, Washington quickly despatched several companies to intercept their retreat; and about 1000 Hessians, under Rahl, Anspach, and Knyphausen, surrendered at discretion, their position not enabling them to speak of *terms*.

If Generals Irwin and Cadwallader, detained by the ice and other obstacles, had reached in time, about 500 cavalry and light infantry, together with a foraging party, who escaped by the lower road to Bordentown, and indeed all the royal troops near the river, would have been surrounded and taken prisoners.

"I had been despatched to General Washington for orders, and rode up to him at the moment Colonel Rahl, supported by a file of sergeants, was presenting his sword. On my approach, the commander-in-chief took me by the hand, and observed, '*Major Wilkinson*, this is a glorious day for our country,' his countenance beaming with complacency; whilst the unfortunate Rahl, who the day before would not have changed fortunes with him, now pale, bleeding and covered with blood, in broken accents seemed to implore those attentions which the victor was well disposed to bestow on him. How awful the contrast! what a sad memento of the casualties of military life! Such are thy blessings, O war!—such the glories and the golden fruits 'plucked from the cannon's mouth.'

"In this affair we lost no officer, and those before mentioned (Captain William Washington and Lieutenant James Monroe) with four men only were wounded, two were killed, and one frozen to death; our trophies were four stand of colours, twelve drums, six brass field-pieces, a thousand stand of arms and accoutrements, and our prisoners twenty-three officers and almost a thousand non-commissioned officers and privates; Colonel Rahl and six other officers, with about forty

men, were killed. The execution of this enterprise reflected high honour on General Washington; but his triumph was abridged by the failure of two simultaneous attacks, one from Bristol, under General Cadwallader, and the other by Trenton ferry, under General Irwin, which made a part of his plan. These officers employed every exertion to cross the river, but were baffled by the ice, and in consequence the fugitives escaped from Trenton, and Count Donop, with the detachments below, was enabled to make good his retreat to Princeton, otherwise these German cantonments would have been swept.

"This was a desperate undertaking, justified by the deplorable state of our affairs, and worthy the chief who projected it. I have never doubted that he had resolved to stake his life on the issue. The joy diffused throughout the Union by the successful attack against Trenton, re-animated the timid friends of the revolution, and invigorated the confidence of the resolute. Perils and sufferings still in prospect, were considered the price of independence, and every faithful citizen was willing to make the sacrifice. Success had triumphed over despondency, and the heedless, headlong enthusiasm, which led the colonists to arms, had settled down into a sober sense of their condition, and a deliberate resolution to maintain the contest at every hazard, and under every privation. The general impulse excited by passion was now improved by reason, and the American community began to feel and act like a nation determined to be free."

Believing his troops to be inadequate to cope with the enemy quartered through New Jersey, the commander-in-chief, on the evening after the battle, abandoned Trenton and crossed over to the right side of the river with his prisoners, artillery and other trophies of victory.

The desponding and the loyalists discrediting and denying the truth of this success, the American generals, desirous to revive the courage of the people, paraded these veteran troops, who had proved themselves so formidable upon many occasions, through the streets of Philadelphia in triumph, followed by their arms and banners. This, of course, was not

intended as an insult to the fallen, but purely a matter of expediency, of which the Hessians, *hiring themselves as instruments of oppression*, had no reason to complain. The Americans made the welkin ring with their unbounded exultation, to see that it was not yet impossible to save the republic. The enemy were astonished at the sudden metamorphosis of a defeated, almost annihilated army, into a victorious one, at a period when they thought the war nearly at an end.

Washington, encouraged by his success and the spirit of his troops, whose *morale* was completely restored, again crossed the Delaware, and marched to Trenton at the head of 4000 men.

Washington, the calm and prudent chief, was now a perfect lion, giving full reins to his *natural impetuosity*, as the only possible means of success under the present state of affairs. If he sacrificed some of his prudence to give energy and impulse to his actions *in a last resort*, he never lost sight of it, and the *end*, every American believes, justified the *means*.

The highest eulogium on these proceedings that can be given, is the effect they produced upon the minds of the *enemy*: "*The British commander-in-chief was now seriously alarmed*," says their historian. "The British and auxiliary troops, with the forces at Brunswick under General Grant, advanced to Princeton; and Lord Cornwallis, who was on the point of sailing for England, was immediately ordered to leave New York, and take the command of the Jersey army. As soon as his lordship joined General Grant, he marched to attack the enemy at Trenton. General Washington, on his approach, retired from the town, and, crossing a rivulet at the back of it, posted himself on some high grounds, seemingly with a determination of defending them. Both armies immediately commenced a severe cannonade, which continued till night. Lord Cornwallis determined to renew the attack next morning, but General Washington resolved not to hazard a battle."

Too inferior in numbers for a general battle—too near a formidable army to cross a large river, now more obstructed

with ice than before, our chief resolved to carry the war into the heart of New Jersey.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 3d of January, the baggage was sent down to Burlington, and about two, the enemy being perfectly quiet, the Americans, leaving their fires burning, and guards at the bridges and fords, with orders to continue the usual rounds of patrols, silently filed off by detachments, and the neighbouring fences were used to keep up a blazing fire to deceive the enemy, until near day, when they also retired. Proceeding by a very circuitous route through Allentown, he hastened to surprise and take Princeton. The expedition with which this grand manœuvre was executed is almost incredible; for about sunrise his van came up with Mawhood's detachment, which had just began its march from Princeton to Maidenhead, midway between Princeton and Trenton. This officer had been left at Princeton by Cornwallis to defend the place, but had just been ordered to Maidenhead. He was entirely ignorant of the approach of the Americans, and the morning being foggy, he supposed them to be Hessians. Discovering it was part of the American army, and beginning to know the character of Washington, he conjectured that the vigilant chief had played them one of his nocturnal tricks. They were immediately charged with great spirit, but making a vigorous defence, the militia forming the vanguard gave way and retired. General Mercer attempted to rally them and was mortally wounded. Washington advanced and restored the battle with his conquerors of Trenton. The British, separated and overwhelmed, fled in every direction over fences and fields, without regard to roads; blowing up their breath in fine wreaths of smoke on this cold morning and conjecturing what might become of the hindmost, every one stretched his speed to the utmost to outstrip his neighbour, and "live to fight another day." The pursuit was exceedingly animated, and the commander-in-chief, while encouraging the men, exclaimed, "*It is a fine fox-chase, my boys!*" Colonel Hand's Pennsylvania riflemen were first in the chase, and took the greatest number of prisoners. Wilkinson says, "They were accompanied by Gene-

ral Washington in person, with a squad of the Philadelphia troops, among whom Mr. John Donaldson distinguished himself in an eminent degree; in the ardour of the pursuit he had separated himself from the troop, and as the infantry could not keep up, he found himself alone and liable to be shot by any straggler of the enemy who would not surrender; yet, unwilling to slacken his pace, he mounted a lieutenant Simpson behind him, who, whenever a fugitive threatened to be refractory, jumped off and shot him, and in this manner three men, whilst taking aim at Mr. Donaldson, were knocked down and his life saved; but he made a score of prisoners, whom he sent to his rear after disarming them." The loss of the enemy was above 100 killed and 300 prisoners; the American loss was considerably less, but the fall of General Mercer was universally lamented; he was a Scotchman by birth, and a physician by profession. "He served in the campaign of 1755, with General Braddock, and was wounded through the shoulder in the unfortunate action near fort Du Quesne; unable to retreat, he lay down under cover of a large fallen tree, and in the pursuit an Indian leaped upon his covert immediately over him, and, after looking about a few seconds for the direction of the fugitives, he sprang off without observing the wounded man who lay at his feet. So soon as the Indians had killed the wounded, scalped the dead, rifled the baggage, and cleared the field, the unfortunate Mercer, finding himself exceedingly faint and thirsty from loss of blood, crawled to an adjacent brook, and after drinking plentifully, found himself so much refreshed that he was able to walk, and commenced his return by the road the army had advanced; but being without subsistence, and more than a hundred miles from any Christian settlement, he expected to die of famine, when he observed a rattlesnake on his path, which he killed and contrived to skin, and, throwing it over his sound shoulder, he subsisted on it as the claims of nature urged, until he reached fort Cumberland, on the Potomac."

This the critic will say should be in a *note*, but it saves the reader the trouble of looking down to the bottom of the

page, and then groping his way back again to the place he read before.

The long absence of Washington, who had been led away in the pursuit of the fugitives, began to excite great alarm for his safety among his troops, already assembled at Princeton; but he soon appeared, to prepare for another running fight.

Cornwallis awoke at Trenton, shook off the dew of the morning, and looked around, but Washington was *non est inventus!* Immediately abandoning his camp, Cornwallis hastened to Princeton, where he arrived almost as soon as Washington with the *Grand Army*, as it was then called, composed of a handful of men, half-naked, half-frozen, half-starved, and broken down with fatigue and two nights' loss of sleep. But the army was *morally* grand, amounting to sublimity.

Washington left his enemy very abruptly; crossed Millstone river, broke down the bridges behind him, passed the Raritan river, and soon reposed beyond the mountains, making his head-quarters at Morristown in upper Jersey, with a fine country in his rear to supply him with all necessaries, and through which he could readily find a passage over the Delaware. But he comes again: his troops refreshed, and reinforced with a few battalions, he scours the country to the Raritan, under the very noses of the enemy; he even crosses the river, and, penetrating into Essex county, seizes Newark, Elizabethtown, and Woodbridge, making himself master of the coast of *Staten Island*, brushing the lion's beard and staring him right in the face! Truth *is* stranger than fiction, and the world never dreamed of anything more astonishing. The length and breadth of the country rung with the name of Washington, and continental Europe, filled with admiration and wonder at the splendour of the achievements, echoed the name back again.

"Achievements so astonishing, acquired an immense glory for the captain-general of the United States. All nations shared in the surprise of the Americans; all equally admired and applauded the prudence, the constancy, and the noble intrepidity of General Washington. A unanimous voice pronounced

him the saviour of his country; all extolled him as equal to the most celebrated commanders of antiquity; all proclaimed him the Fabius of America. His name was in the mouths of all; he was celebrated by the pens of the most distinguished writers. The most illustrious personages of Europe lavished upon him their praises and their congratulations. The American general, therefore, wanted neither a cause full of grandeur to defend, nor occasion for the acquisition of glory, nor genius to avail himself of it, nor the renown due to his triumphs, nor an entire generation of men perfectly well disposed to render him homage;" and, we might add—nor patriotism to do all for his country.

By this almost superhuman effort, Washington not only saved Philadelphia, but wrested nearly all New Jersey from the tyrant's grasp. Selecting his positions well, and fortifying them strongly, the royalists did not think it safe to attack him. New Brunswick and Amboy were the only two posts left to the enemy in the state, and these could have no communication with New York except by sea. Congress, by the advice of the generals, had retired to Baltimore, but now they immediately returned, which inspired the people with new hope and confidence.

CHAPTER X.

Expedition of the Enemy against American Provisions at Danbury, Connecticut—Heroic Conduct of Wooster and Arnold—Death of the former—Congress votes a Monument to the one, a Horse to the other.

"Exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus."

Why not at once say, "Small in number, but of tried and war-proof valour," instead of resorting to an ancient, outlandish, dead language. The only reason I can see to quote other languages is to *appear* learned! Now I claim an equal privilege with the rest, for we are all equally ignorant of the *philosophy* of those languages, for very obvious reasons:—

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The Americans were not idle during the winter. They formed immense magazines of provisions, and stores of every description, against which the enemy planned expeditions before the regular opening of the campaign of the spring of 1777. One was undertaken against Danbury, in Fairfield county, Connecticut. The command of the enterprise was given to Governor Tryon, General Agnew and Sir William Erskine. Reaching Danbury, without opposition, on the 26th of April, they destroyed 1800 barrels of beef and pork, 800 of flour, 2000 barrels of grain, and 1790 tents; burned eighteen houses and murdered three unoffending inhabitants.

Generals Wooster and Arnold, being in the neighbourhood, formed the bold design of cutting off their retreat. Wooster hung upon their rear, and harassed them incessantly, in defiance of their field-pieces to cover their flank and rear. In one of these skirmishes, however, the general, nearly seventy years of age, was mortally wounded, and died soon after. His soldiers, on the loss of their leader, immediately dispersed.

At Ridgefield, Arnold had thrown up imperfect entrenchments, when the enemy appeared, and a hot action ensued. The Americans were obliged to retire to Norfolk. The next morning Tryon, after burning some houses, renewed his march towards the Sound. Arnold, though beaten, was not conquered. He returned to the conflict and continually annoyed the enemy in their retreat to their ships, in which they returned to New York. The result of this expedition was beneficial to the American cause. The enemy not only lost 170 men in killed, wounded, and missing, but their barbarous conduct in wantonly destroying private property, exasperated the honest yeomanry of the country, and made them more firm in their resistance.

Congress decreed that a monument should be erected to the memory of General Wooster; and to General Arnold they presented a horse richly caparisoned, to testify their admiration of his gallantry.

CHAPTER XI.

Outrages of the Enemy in New Jersey—Effect on the People—Howe's Attempt to lead Washington to an Engagement—Capture of Prescott—Howe sails to the Chesapeake—Lands on Elk River—Washington hastens to defend Philadelphia—Arrival of Lafayette—Battle of Brandywine—Retreat of the Americans.

"Could I embody and unbosom now
That which is most within me,—could I wreak
My thoughts upon expression, and thus throw
Soul, heart, mind, passions, feelings, strong and weak,
All that I would have sought, and all I seek,
Bear, know, feel, and yet breathe—into *one* word,
And that one word were lightning, I would speak:
But as it is, I live and die unheard,
With a most voiceless thought, sheathing it as a sword."

THE royal troops remaining in New Jersey during the winter of 1777, were emphatically confined to Brunswick and Amboy; for both places were in an actual state of siege. The Hessians, who were about as numerous as the British themselves in America, were objects of peculiar hatred, from the numerous and aggravated outrages they committed upon the inhabitants, whether royalists or patriots. No sooner did they venture from those villages to make their barbarous excursions, than they were harassed, not only by the soldiers of Washington, but frequent ambuscades were prepared for them by the enraged people, who would cut them off by surprise and exterminate them. It was on one of these Hessian heads we studied the anatomy of the skull.

The people of New Jersey, overawed by the success of the royal cause in the conquest of this province, had nearly all submitted to the enemy. But when the soldiers rewarded their *loyalty* by dishonouring wives in the presence of their husbands, daughters in the presence of their fathers, and sisters in the presence of their brothers, they flew to arms, with but one thought, and that was vengeance; and they would not have been men if they had not thus avenged their wrongs.

When the mild season returned, Howe at length began to manœuvre, but the direction he intended to give to his arms could not yet be ascertained. Whether he would penetrate through New Jersey and attempt to take possession of Philadelphia, or proceed up the Hudson to co-operate with the army of Canada, was involved in impenetrable mystery. Always ready, however, for every emergency, Washington took such a position as should enable him to oppose them with equal advantage, whether he moved towards Philadelphia or in the direction of Albany.

After many manœuvres, intended to deceive the Americans, on the night of the 14th of June, the whole British army, except 2000 who were left to protect Brunswick, was put in motion, in two columns, towards the Delaware. But Washington, instead of being decoyed from his formidable position to stake his country's prospects upon the hazard of a single battle, and thus gratify the desire, and perhaps insure the success of the enemy, resolved to remain within his entrenchments. To this conclusion our hero was led by the following reflections: Owing to their superiority of numbers the enemy are desirous of a general engagement, to destroy the American army. They are evidently attempting to draw me from my advantageous position by circumvention or sleight, which is shown by the fact, that Howe would not have the temerity of crossing the Delaware, where he would have to combat an army on the opposite side, under Arnold, and another still more formidable in his rear. If it had been the intention of the enemy to cross that river, they would have pushed on rapidly to its bank, instead of halting, as they have done, midway. They would have taken their *bridge* equipage, the baggage, and the batteaux with them, which we know they have left behind.

Now reader, if you love to revel in the luxury of *thinking*, see that calm, sagacious, and dignified countenance of Washington, gradually brightening into a smile of complacency as these thoughts are leading to a just and wise conclusion; disappointing the sanguine hopes of the British, and inspiring the republicans with additional confidence. Unless you make

such mental digressions, you lose all the *poetry* of history. Independent of the other considerations, the conclusion of Washington was in accordance with our XXVIIth *maxim*: "never to do what the enemy wishes you to do."

About this time an adventure took place which spread great joy and exultation among the Americans. General Prescott, who commanded the British troops in Rhode Island, was surprised and carried off by Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, to retaliate the capture of General Lee. The colonel, at the head of a party of forty militia, embarked in whale-boats, and carefully avoiding the vessels of the enemy, landed upon the western coast of Rhode Island, repaired to the lodgings of the general, and seized his sentinels. An aid-de-camp went up into the general's room, took him out of his bed, where he slept, and hurried him off, without giving him time to dress. Prescott had lately set a price on the head of General Arnold, who immediately resented the insult by offering an *inferior* price for the *person* of Prescott; plainly indicating that his head was worth more than the British general's whole body. Congress thanked Barton, and presented him with a sword.

After various other manœuvrings, and unsuccessful attempts to destroy the American army by stratagem, the British, numbering 18,000 men, embarked at Sandy Hook on the 23d of July, in 260 vessels, sailed to Chesapeake Bay, up that bay, and landed not far from the head of Elk river, on the 25th of August. Howe's forces consisted of thirty-six Hessian and British battalions, including light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of cavalry. Howe at one time intended to have gone up the Delaware, but receiving intelligence that the river was obstructed by the Americans, he proceeded against Philadelphia by the way of Chesapeake Bay, as already stated.

About this time the Marquis of Lafayette arrived in this country, and offered his services to Congress. We shall speak of him again at the end of this chapter.

As the British squadron had been seen on the 7th of August at the entrance of the Delaware, Washington, after a lapse

of time, not hearing of the enemy having entered Chesapeake Bay, began to suspect that Charleston, South Carolina, would be attacked. Knowing, however, that he could not reach that place in time to afford it any assistance, and that if there were any prospects of success, the attempt would be imprudent, from the uncertainty of the enemy's destination, he wisely concluded to maintain his position, which enabled him to defend Pennsylvania, if the terrible storm was to burst upon that part of the country.

Intelligence having at last been received of the appearance of the enemy in the Chesapeake, all the doubts and uncertainties of our commander were dissipated, and he hastened to meet the formidable foe, face to face. Orders were despatched to the officers of his detached corps, to meet him at Philadelphia, to proceed thence to the head of the Chesapeake. The militia of the neighbouring states were ordered to join the army, to defend the capital. To show the importance of this call, and at the same time to prove the truth of the assertion of Frederick the Great, that Washington was the greatest general of the age, we will give the following view of the relative strength of the foreign and American armies, from a history written by a tory, who, of course, would naturally abstain from representing their armies too large, and ours too small:

BRITISH AND AMERICAN FORCE IN 1776.

Dates.	British Troops.	American Troops.
August	24,000	16,000
November	26,900	4,500
December	27,700	3,300
IN 1777.		
March	27,000	4,500
June	30,000	8,000

The American army having marched through Philadelphia for the double purpose of encouraging their friends and to overawe the tories, advanced to White Clay Creek, where it encamped. Leaving his riflemen to guard the camp, our chief commander proceeded with the main army behind Red Clay Creek, extending it up that creek from Newport, situ-

ated near the Christiana River, below Wilmington, in the state of Delaware.

On the 28th of August the British army moved forward to a village at the head of Elk river, and fixing its head-quarters here, on the 3d of September a part of the army moved on to take post on Iron Hill. On the 8th of September the commander-in-chief was joined by Generals Grant and Knyphausen, who had been left upon the coast to cover the debarkation of the artillery and military stores; when the whole army moved forward in two columns towards Philadelphia. As the enemy approached, Washington saw that he was in danger of being out-flanked on his right, and retired with his troops behind Brandywine river or creek, which he knew the enemy had to cross to proceed to Philadelphia, and which, though everywhere fordable, he resolved to defend; knowing that nothing but a victory could save the capital.

With this conclusion and resolve, batteries were erected on the banks of the little river, and entrenchments thrown up at Chad's Ford, where it was supposed the enemy would most probably attempt a passage.

While the Americans were thus occupied at Chad's Ford, Howe, early on the morning of the 11th, proceeded to the execution of his plan, which was to attack that ford with his right column, commanded by General Knyphausen, while his left column, under Lord Cornwallis, made a circuit of several miles, and marched up to the forks of the Brandywine, which he crossed with a view to gain the rear of the Americans.

* * * * * *

"But hark! that heavy sound breaks in once more,
As if the clouds its echo would repeat;
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before!"

* * * * * *

"And there was mounting in hot haste: the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war;
And the deep thunder peal on peal afar;
And near, the beat of the alarming drum
Roused up the soldier. * * *

Knyphausen, who had advanced with his column, commenced a furious attack on the Americans, who, prepared to receive him, defended themselves with great gallantry. They not only maintained their ground, but several detachments crossing the river, fell upon, and harassed the enemy's flank; but, overcome by numbers, they were obliged to re-cross the river, while the enemy kept up a roar of artillery and musketry that seemed to indicate a determination to force the passage of Chad's Ford.

In the midst of this engagement, Washington received intelligence of the movements of Cornwallis, who was marching on the road to Dilworth on the *left* bank of the river. The British army thus divided, and representations having been erroneously made to our commander-in-chief that Howe commanded in person his main army, which was about to attack his right wing, he decided upon the bold and apparently necessary expedient of beating the enemy's right wing, while they attacked *his* right—thus giving *wing for wing*, with prospects of overwhelming Knyphausen, who all this time was keeping up a terrible noise.

Washington's plan, promptly formed, was, to cross the river with his centre and left wing and make a desperate attack on Knyphausen. General Sullivan was ordered to cross the river with his division, above the German general, and fall upon his left flank, while Washington in person would pass it lower down and fall upon his right.

The troops had no sooner been put in motion than a second report came, that the British had *not* crossed the branches of the Brandywine, and that it was only a feint of the enemy. Our troops were immediately ordered back, when a third report arrived, giving positive assurance that the enemy *had* crossed the river!

General Wayne defended Chad's Ford; Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephen commanded the right wing of the American army; while Washington, followed by Greene, posted himself in a position where he might aid either Wayne or Sullivan, as occasion might require.

Sullivan met the enemy above Birmingham meeting-house,

(which is yet standing,) having previously planted his artillery on the neighbouring hills.

As soon as the Americans appeared, the British sounded the charge, advanced rapidly up the gentle acclivity, about half a mile in length, on the top of which the Americans were situated, and commenced the fight with the greatest impetuosity, before the right wing of our army had time to form. With this great disadvantage on the part of the Americans, (who were also much inferior in numbers and in arms,) the armies rushed together in fierce and desperate conflict, and the carnage became terrible. The republicans poured fire after fire upon the enemy; their artillery hurled the messengers of death amid thundering peals from the neighbouring hills; then dismal, roaring, fierce and deep the gloom of battle poured along; the smoke obscured every object and ascended to the skies; the continual flashes of fire imparted to the moving figures, through the dismal scene, a spectral appearance; the commanders rushed along like some dreadful spirits who come in the roar of a thousand storms and scatter battles from their eyes, and all seems to indicate that they must be victorious if their arms are like their souls. Higher and higher rises the noise of battle; the blood is streaming down the hill; the wounded mingle their voices with the fearful din of arms; the ground is strewn with the dead, and the living rush over their bodies, and over the wounded, groaning and shrieking in despair. A rider falls, and the terrified steed

> "——— fast as shaft can fly,
> Blood-shot his eyes, his nostrils spread,
> The loose rein dangling from his head,
> Housing and saddle bloody red,"

rushes over the standing and the fallen. Another rider falls, and again his steed, wounded and furious, spurns all restraint, and flies over the field of strife, through the midst of the confused and dreadful scene of slaughter. The rocking woods echoed around; the inhabitants, as they fled along the distant hills, turned a hasty and terrified look in the direction of the battle-field; women with dishevelled hair, fly scream-

ing over the fields, carrying, dragging, or leading their children beyond the reach of danger. Animals of every description manifest their terror and astonishment at the fearful tumult. Dogs are howling piteously; the lowing herd, aroused from their wonted torpor, run helter-skelter over the land; the draught-horse, freed from restraint, pricks up his ears, dashes his mane proudly to the winds, and, with a speed and energy not usually his own, bounds away with sidelong looks; then slacks his pace, looks wild—snorts and neighs, and, taking fresh alarm, tries again the speed of his clumsy limbs.

Now turn we to the field once more. The unshaken courage and desperate efforts of the republicans could not resist the numerous assailants. Their imperfectly formed wing gave way first, which exposing the flank of the centre to a galling fire, the confusion rapidly ran along the line, until the rout became general. A great effort was made to rally the fugitives, but the pursuit, not allowing time to form, rendered it impossible. The Americans, unable to save themselves with their *arms*, resolved to make good use of their legs, with a firm resolve to fight another day, *which they did*, and some of them the same day. They fled through the woods like the newly fallen leaves before the rushing breath of the tempest—the enemy close behind them. They were still threatened with total ruin, when General Greene came up with the reserve, and, by a singularly skilful manœuvre, opened his ranks for the fugitives, and after they had passed through, like a father protecting his children, closed his ranks behind them, checked the pursuit of the enemy by the fire of his artillery, and completely covered the retreat. This, with many other splendid achievements, invests the character of Greene with an air of romance, which will always be felt by the American people, and elicit unbounded praises from the unborn Homers of our country.

General Greene continued his retreat until he came to a narrow pass, covered on both sides by woods, when he drew up his corps, composed of Pennsylvanians and Virginians, and fought the enemy in a brave and heroic manner.

In the meantime, Knyphausen crossed Chad's Ford, which,

for a time, was resolutely defended, but the Americans, seeing the approach of the enemy upon their right flank, fled in disorder, as the only possible means of saving themselves from captivity. In this flight, they passed behind General Greene, who was still defending the pass, and who, by his gallant conduct, saved them from being surrounded and taken prisoners. Here Greene stood like a pillar of fire, and fought until dark, when he retired, undismayed, from this Thermopylæ of America, and from a field where battle had raged nearly all day. The volleys gradually ceased, while the roar of battle died away in distant echoes, and nothing was now heard but the groans and prayers of the wounded.

"The mortal strife was o'er, and dimly shone
The waning moon upon the field of blood;
Rank upon rank, in swaths of carnage mown,
Lay the dead combatants for many a rood,
Mixed, man and steed, in crimson brotherhood;
A stifling mist steamed from the gory plain,
Tainting the freshness of that solitude;
While with glazed eyes, and leaden stare inane,
Glared through the ghastly haze the faces of the slain.

Bright, here and there, among the trampled wreck
Of arms and banners, soil'd with bloody clay,
The moonlight glimmer'd on some star-like speck
Of burnish'd steel, unsullied in the fray;
Afar, the white tents of the soldier lay,
Whence frequent peal'd the victor's bacchant cheer,
Oft mingled with the wounded charger's neigh,
Or groan of dying warrior; while, more near,
A dog's long, piercing howl smote on the startled ear.

It was the wail of a lone brute, that crouch'd,
Faithful in death, his master's corse beside;
Aught, save Ambition's heart, it would have touch'd,
To see with what devotedness he tried
To win some sign of love, where none replied;
Then, all his coaxing wiles essay'd in vain,
He gazed on the pale features, as to chide,
But could not their mysterious look sustain,
And, turning from the dead, howl'd to the winds again."

We will now redeem our promise and speak again of Lafayette; and in doing so we shall avail ourselves of copious extracts from an oration on the life and character of Gilbert Motier de Lafayette, delivered before Congress, in 1834, by John Quincy Adams.

"As in the firmament of heaven, that rolls over our heads, there is, among the stars of the first magnitude, one so pre-eminent in splendour, as, in the opinion of astronomers, to constitute a class by itself; so, in the fourteen hundred years of the French monarchy, among the multitudes of great and mighty men which it has evolved, the name of Lafayette stands unrivalled in the solitude of glory.

"At Mentz, at an entertainment given by a relative of Lafayette, the Marechal de Broglie, the commandant of the place, to the Duke of Gloucester, brother to the British king, and then a transient traveller through that part of France, he learns, as an incident of intelligence received that morning by the English prince from London, that the Congress of rebels, at Philadelphia, had issued a Declaration of Independence. A conversation ensues upon the causes which have contributed to produce this event, and upon the consequences which may be expected to flow from it. The imagination of Lafayette has caught across the Atlantic tide the spark emitted from the Declaration of Independence; his heart has kindled at the shock, and, before he slumbers upon his pillow, he has resolved to devote his life and fortune to the cause.

"You have before you the cause and the man. The self-devotedness of Lafayette was twofold. First, to the people, maintaining a bold and seemingly desperate struggle against oppression, and for national existence. Secondly, and chiefly, to the principles of their Declaration, which then first unfurled before his eyes the consecrated standard of human rights. To that standard, without an instant of hesitation, he repaired. Where it would lead him, it is scarcely probable that he himself then foresaw. It was then identical with the stars and stripes of the American Union, floating to the breeze from the Hall of Independence, at Philadelphia. Nor sordid avarice, nor vulgar ambition could point his footsteps

to the pathway leading to that banner. To the love of ease or pleasure nothing could be more repulsive. Something may be allowed to the beatings of the youthful breast, which make ambition virtue, and something to the spirit of military adventure, imbibed from his profession, and which he felt in common with many others. France, Germany, Poland, furnished to the armies of this Union, in our revolutionary struggle, no inconsiderable number of officers of high rank and distinguished merit. The names of Pulaski and De Kalb are numbered among the martyrs of our freedom, and their ashes repose in our soil side by side with the canonized bones of Warren and of Montgomery. To the virtues of Lafayette, a more protracted career and happier earthly destinies were reserved. To the *moral* principle of political action, the sacrifices of no other man were comparable to his. Youth, health, fortune; the favour of his king; the enjoyment of ease and pleasure; even the choicest blessings of domestic felicity; he gave them all for toil and danger in a distant land, and an almost hopeless cause; but it was the cause of justice, and of the rights of human kind.

"The resolve is firmly fixed, and it now remains to be carried into execution. On the 7th of December, 1776, Silas Deane, then a secret agent of the American Congress at Paris, stipulates with the Marquis de Lafayette that he shall receive a commission, to date from that day, of major-general in the army of the United States; and the marquis stipulates, in return, to depart when and how Mr. Deane shall judge proper, to serve the United States with all possible zeal, without pay or emolument, reserving to himself only the liberty of returning to Europe if his family or his king should recall him.

"Neither his family nor his king were willing that he should depart; nor had Mr. Deane the power, either to conclude this contract, or to furnish the means of his conveyance to America. Difficulties rise up before him only to be dispersed, and obstacles thicken, only to be surmounted. The day after the signature of the contract, Mr. Deane's agency was superseded by the arrival of Doctor Benjamin Franklin and

Arthur Lee, as his colleagues in commission; nor did they think themselves authorized to confirm his engagements. Lafayette is not to be discouraged. The commissioners extenuate nothing of the unpromising condition of their cause. Mr. Deane avows his inability to furnish him with a passage to the United States. 'The more desperate the cause,' says Lafayette, 'the greater need has it of my service, and, if Mr. Deane has no vessel for my passage, I shall purchase one myself, and will traverse the ocean with a selected company of my own.'

"Other impediments arise. His design becomes known to the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, who remonstrates to the French government against it. At his instance, orders are issued for the detention of the vessel purchased by the marquis, and fitted out at Bordeaux, and for the arrest of his person. To elude the first of these orders, the vessel is removed from Bordeaux to the neighbouring port of Passage, within the dominion of Spain. The order for his own arrest is executed; but, by stratagem and disguise, he escapes from the custody of those who have him in charge, and, before a second order can reach him, he is safe on the ocean wave, bound to the land of independence and of freedom.

"It had been necessary to clear out the vessel for an island of the West Indies; but, once at sea, he avails himself of his right as owner of the ship, and compels his captain to steer for the shores of emancipated North America. He lands, with his companions, on the 25th of April, 1777, in South Carolina, not far from Charleston, and finds a most cordial reception and hospitable welcome in the house of Major Huger.

"Every detail of this adventurous expedition, full of incidents, combining with the simplicity of historical truth all the interest of romance, is so well known, and so familiar to the memory of all who hear me, that I pass them over without further notice.

"From Charleston he proceeded to Philadelphia, where the Congress of the revolution were in session, and where he

offered his services in the cause. Here, again, he was met with difficulties, which, to men of ordinary minds, would have been insurmountable. Mr. Deane's contracts were so numerous, and for offices of rank so high, that it was impossible they should be ratified by the Congress. He had stipulated for the appointment of other major-generals; and, in the same contract with that of Lafayette, for eleven other officers, from the rank of colonel to that of lieutenant. To introduce these officers, strangers, scarcely one of whom could speak the language of the country, into the American army, to take rank and precedence over the native citizens, whose ardent patriotism had pointed them to the standard of their country, could not, without great injustice, nor without exciting the most fatal dissensions, have been done; and this answer was necessarily given, as well to Lafayette, as to the other officers who had accompanied him from Europe. His reply was, an offer to serve as a volunteer, and without pay. Magnanimity, thus disinterested, could not be resisted, nor could the sense of it be worthily manifested by a mere acceptance of the offer. On the 31st of July, 1777, therefore, the following resolution and preamble are recorded upon the journals of Congress:

"'Whereas, the Marquis de Lafayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connections, and, at his own expense, come over to offer his services to the United States, without pension, or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause:

"'Resolved, that his services be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family, and connections, he have the *rank and commission* of major-general in the army of the United States.'

"He had the rank and commission, but no command as a major-general. With this, all personal ambition was gratified; and whatever services he might perform, he could attain no higher rank in the American army. The discontents of officers already in the service, at being superseded in command by a stripling foreigner, were disarmed; nor was the prudence

of Congress, perhaps, without its influence in withholding a command, which, but for a judgment, 'premature beyond the slow advance of years,' might have hazarded something of the sacred cause itself, by confidence too hastily bestowed.

"The day after the date of his commission, he was introduced to Washington. It was the critical period of the campaign of 1777. The British army, commanded by Lord Howe, was advancing from the head of Elk, to which they had been transported by sea from New York, upon Philadelphia. Washington, by a counteracting movement, had been approaching from his line of defence in the Jerseys, towards the city, and arrived there on the 1st of August. It was a meeting of congenial souls. At the close of it, Washington gave the youthful stranger an invitation to make the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief his home; that he should establish himself there at his own time, and consider himself at all times as one of his family. It was natural that, in giving this invitation, he should remark the contrast of the situation in which it would place him, with that of ease and comfort, and luxurious enjoyment, which he had left, at the splendid court of Louis XVI., and of his beautiful and accomplished, but ill-fated queen, then at the very summit of all which constitutes the common estimate of felicity. To Lafayette, the soil of freedom was his country. His post of honour was the post of danger. His fireside was the field of battle. He accepted with joy the invitation of Washington, and repaired forthwith to the camp. The bond of indissoluble friendship —the friendship of heroes—was sealed from the first hour of their meeting, to last throughout their lives, and to live in the memory of mankind for ever.

"It was, perhaps, at the suggestion of the American commissioners in France, that this invitation was given by Washington. In a letter from them, on the 25th of May, 1777, to the committee of Foreign Affairs, they announce that the marquis had departed for the United States in a ship of his own, accompanied by some officers of distinction, in order to serve in our armies. They observe that he is exceedingly beloved, and that every body's good wishes attend him. They

cannot but hope that he will meet with such a reception as will make the country and his expedition agreeable to him. They further say, that those who censure it as imprudent in him, do, nevertheless, applaud his spirit; and they are satisfied that civilities and respect shown to him will be serviceable to our cause in France, and pleasing not only to his powerful relations, and to the court, but to the whole French nation. They finally add, that he had left a beautiful young wife, and for her sake, particularly, they hoped that his bravery and ardent desire to distinguish himself would be a little restrained by the general's [Washington's] prudence, so as not to permit his being hazarded much, but upon some important occasion.

"The battle of Brandywine was the first action in which Lafayette was engaged, and the first lesson of his practical military school, at the age of nineteen years, was a lesson of misfortune. In the attempt to rally the American troops in their retreat, he received a musket-ball in the leg. He was scarcely conscious of the wound till made sensible of it by the loss of blood, and even then ceased not his exertions in the field till he had secured and covered the retreat."

To pursue the orator any further would be getting in advance of our history; we shall, therefore, merely remark for the present, that, upon the recommendation of Washington, Lafayette soon obtained a *command* from Congress in the American army, and conclude this chapter by one more extract from the orator, and a beautiful tribute from the bard.

"But where, in the rolls of history, in the fictions of romance, where, but in the life of Lafayette, has been seen the noble stranger, flying, with the tribute of his name, his rank, his affluence, his ease, his domestic bliss, his treasure, his blood, to the relief of a suffering and distant land, in the hour of her deepest calamity—baring his bosom to her foes; and not at the transient pageantry of a tournament, but for a succession of five years sharing all the vicissitudes of her fortunes; always eager to appear at the post of danger—tempering the glow of youthful ardour with the cold caution of a veteran commander; bold and daring in action; prompt in

execution; rapid in pursuit; fertile in expedients; unattainable in retreat; often exposed, but never surprised, never disconcerted; eluding his enemy when within his fancied grasp; bearing upon him with irresistible sway when of force to cope with him in the conflict of arms. And what is this but the diary of Lafayette, from the day of his rallying the scattered fugitives of the Brandywine, insensible of the blood flowing from his wound, to the storming of the redoubt at Yorktown?"

"None knew thee but to love thee,
Or named thee but to praise."

"'Twas his, in manhood's blushing prime, to tread
Imperial halls with coroneted head;
To bask in royal smiles, or lead the dance
Amid the gayest, gallantest of France;
Or, gladly loosed from grandeur's courtly thrall,
At gentle Hymen's sweet enticing call
To seek his princely home, and fondly rest
His honour'd brow on wedded beauty's breast.

And never more the youthful lord shall leave
His blooming Eden and his blushing Eve,
But softly yield to love's voluptuous hours
His princely fortune and exalted powers;
Oh! sooner deem the spider's brittle tie
Could hold the eagle from his native sky,
Than that luxurious indolence could bind
One little hour that angel-pinion'd mind!
E'en now he springs from love's inglorious rest
With arm'd right arm and wildly-heaving breast;
What stirring thoughts his youthful heart inspire?
Why burns his eye with unaccustom'd ire?
Lo! on his startled ear the winds have blown
The clank of chains where bleeding millions groan,
And swift he breaks from nature's dearest ties,
In Freedom's cause life, *all* to jeopardize;
While every charm to home and Hymen wed,
Is crush'd like flowers beneath a giant's tread.

Far o'er the deep, with hopes unspurr'd by fame,
The warrior-pilgrim in his glory came,
Pour'd his full purse in Freedom's empty hand,
And with her foremost sternly took his stand;

Fought, bled, nor falter'd till the strife was o'er,
And the last foe was hunted from her shore."

CHAPTER XII.

Washington prepares for another Battle—Armies separated by a Storm—Massacre at Paoli—Howe takes Philadelphia, or *Philadelphia takes Howe*—Congress retires to Lancaster—Howe attempts to open the Delaware—Washington surprises Howe at Germantown—Battle of Germantown—Retreat of Washington in one Direction and the Enemy in another—Philadelphia in a kind of Blockade.

"They fought like two contending storms that strive to roll the wave."

The night after the battle of Brandywine, the American army, leaving three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and four hundred prisoners, retired to Chester, and the following day to Philadelphia, by the way of Darby. Some of the troops were stationed in the environs of Germantown, and others were sent to the right bank of the Schuylkill, to watch the movements of the enemy and repress their incursions, while Washington conferred with Congress.

On the 15th he returned to camp, led all his forces to the right bank of the Schuylkill again, proceeded along the Lancaster road to the Warren tavern, with the intention of risking another engagement. Howe, receiving intelligence of the approach of the Americans, advanced to Goshen, when the two armies being only five miles from each other, preparations were made for battle. The advanced parties had met, when such a violent storm of rain came up that the soldiers were obliged to cease their fire. Washington re-crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ferry, and encamped on Perkioming Creek.

General Wayne had concealed himself in the woods near the left wing of the enemy, with 1500 men, with the design of harassing the rear of their army. This being discovered by the spies of Howe, he sent a detachment in the night to surprise him. Wayne's outposts were killed; and as orders had been given to use the bayonets only, the British troops rushed into the American encampment, before the alarm was

given, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Three hundred were killed and wounded, and one hundred taken prisoners; and nothing but the coolness of Wayne saved the whole corps from being cut off. He quickly rallied a few regiments, who withstood the shock, while the others retreated. The bayoneting was carried to such a cruel and unnecessary degree, that the affair has been called the Paoli massacre.

The enemy now made such dispositions as led Washington to suppose they intended to cross the Schuylkill above his encampment, and seize the extensive military stores at Reading; and he retired up the river to Pottsgrove. Howe, changing his course, crossed the river at Gordon's, and at Flatland Ford, and encamped upon the left bank. Thus, situated between the American army and Philadelphia, nothing could arrest the progress of the enemy but another battle, for which the multitude called loudly, to rescue the city. The prudence of Washington, however, dictated a different course than blindly to risk all at an inauspicious period, and when no reinforcements had arrived.

On the 26th, Howe advanced to Germantown, six miles from Philadelphia, and on the succeeding day, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a strong detachment, took possession of Philadelphia. Congress retired to Lancaster; and placing their hopes and their unbounded confidence in the commander-in-chief, invested him once more with dictatorial powers.

Washington descended along the Schuylkill until he arrived within sixteen miles of Germantown, and encamped at Shippack Creek, to wait until his wisdom or the providence of God should open the way for new enterprises, enabling him to strike again for the salvation of the infant republic.

The attention of General Howe was directed to the reduction of some forts on the Delaware, and the removal of the chevaux-de-frise, composed of immense beams of timber, fastened together, stuck with iron pikes, and sunk across the river, just below the mouth of the Schuylkill. The object of the enemy was, of course, to open a communication between the fleet and the army. On the approach of the enemy to-

wards the lower barrier, the Americans, unable to sustain an assault, spiked their guns, and precipitately retired; when the British, with great labour and perseverance, cut away and hauled up enough of the chevaux-de-frise, to open a narrow passage for their ships. But we shall see hereafter, that this was not the only obstruction to the navigation of the river to Philadelphia.

The British army at Germantown, being sensibly weakened after these detachments were despatched, one to take Philadelphia, and the other to the forts of the Delaware, Washington, who had reposed at Shippack creek, like a lion *couchant*, shook off the morning dew, and began to roar again. He resolved to fall upon the British encampment unexpectedly, and beat them in detail.

The battle of Germantown, though well planned, and commenced with every prospect of victory, soon became a scene of inextricable confusion, owing to the dense fog, which forbade that concert of action, so essential to avoid disorder. Each officer, unable to look far beyond his nose, has given a different account of many of the manœuvres and incidents which occurred. A battle in a fog is a Gordian knot for the historian.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the 3d of October, Washington quitted his encampment, and at the dawn of day the next morning commenced his attack on Howe, who is said to have exclaimed, "My God! what shall we do? We are certainly surrounded."

We have now on our table fifteen different descriptions of this battle, and, unwilling to enter into a discussion (which would occupy too much space) to reconcile conflicting opinions, we shall transcribe Botta's account, which we believe to be the best, and which sets forth, in a striking manner, the consummate skill and military talents of Washington.

A high estimate of a man's military character is too often formed from his turbulent spirit; his imprudent daring or headlong impetuosity is often regarded as genuine courage and military skill. Such a man looks only to the present, and would risk all in a single engagement. But a man like

Washington looks far into the future, risks nothing where the loss might be irretrievable, and always calculates profoundly how far he may risk without permanent injury to his cause, in case of check. When defeated, he repairs his losses with so much despatch, that he is soon able not only to hold the enemy at bay, but to fight him again, or even turn his own defeats to his advantage. The character of the one dazzles the superficial observer; while the apparent tameness of the other seems to him like mediocrity of talents! The one may with propriety lead the head of a column to the attack; but it requires the other to conduct a campaign. The good account to which Washington turned his defeats, we shall presently see.

We love to moralize, but having so many battles to fight yet, they leave us no *room* for such reflections; besides, it is generally best to let every man draw his own inferences from facts, instead of the author obtruding his own biassed notions upon the reader. To illustrate this position, we shall merely remark that when the British authors denounce the French revolution; the character of its illustrious leaders, *and the spirit of republicanism*, on the same page; and attribute all the dreadful *reverses* of that nation to a want of obedience to the divine authority of her kings, they moralize most abominably. Their reasoning and moralizing amounts to this.

"Germantown is a considerable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, stretching on both sides of the great road to the northward, forms a continuous street of two miles in length. The British line of encampment crossed Germantown at right angles about the centre, the left wing extending on the west from the town to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted German chasseurs, who were stationed a little above towards the American camp; a battalion of light infantry and the Queen's American Rangers, were in the front of the right. The centre, being posted within the town, was guarded by the fortieth regiment, and another battalion of light infantry stationed about three-quarters of a mile above the head of the village. Washington resolved to attack the

British by surprise, not doubting that, if he succeeded in breaking them, as they were not only distant, but totally separated from the fleet, his victory must be decisive.

"He so disposed his troops, that the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to march down the main road, and, entering the town by the way of Chesnut Hill, to attack the English centre, and the right flank of their left wing; the divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by Macdougald's brigade, were to take a circuit towards the east, by the Lime-kiln road, and, entering the town at the market-house, to attack the left flank of the right wing. The intention of the American general in seizing the village of Germantown by a double attack, was effectually to separate the right and left wings of the royal army, which must have given him a certain victory. In order that the left flank of the left wing might not contract itself, and support the right flank of the same wing, General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania troops, was ordered to march down the bridge road upon the banks of the Schuylkill, and endeavour to turn the English, if they should retire from that river.

"In like manner, to prevent the right flank of the right wing from going to the succour of the left flank, which rested upon Germantown, the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Forman, were to march down the Old York road, and to fall upon the English on that extremity of their wing. The division of Lord Sterling, and the brigades of Generals Nash and Maxwell, formed the reserve. These dispositions being made, Washington quitted his camp at Shippack creek, and moved towards the enemy, on the 3d of October, about seven in the evening. Parties of cavalry silently scoured all the roads, to seize any individual who might have given notice to the British general of the danger that threatened him. Washington in person accompanied the column of Sullivan and Wayne. The march was rapid and silent.

"At three o'clock in the morning, the British patroles discovered the approach of the Americans; the troops were soon called to arms; each took his post with the precipitation of

surprise. About sunrise the Americans came up. General Conway, having driven in the pickets, fell upon the fortieth regiment and the battalion of light infantry. These corps, after a short resistance, being overpowered by numbers, were pressed and pursued into the village. Fortune appeared already to have declared herself in favour of the Americans; and certainly, if they had gained complete possession of Germantown, nothing could have frustrated them of the most signal victory. But in this conjuncture, Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave threw himself, with six companies of the fortieth regiment, into a large and strong stone house, situated near the head of the village, from which he poured upon the assailants so terrible a fire of musketry that they could advance no further The Americans attempted to storm this unexpected covert of the enemy, but those within continued to defend themselves with resolution. They finally brought cannon up to the assault, but such was the intrepidity of the English, and the violence of their fire, that it was found impossible to dislodge them. During this time, General Greene had approached the right wing, and routed, after a slight engagement, the light infantry and Queen's Rangers. Afterwards, turning a little to his right, and towards Germantown, he fell upon the left flank of the enemy's right wing, and endeavoured to enter the village. Meanwhile, he expected that the Pennsylvania militia, under Armstrong, upon the right, and the militia of Maryland and Jersey, commanded by Smallwood and Forman, on the left, would have executed the orders of the commander-in-chief, by attacking and turning, the first the left flank, and the second the right flank of the British army. But either because the obstacles they encountered had retarded them, or that they wanted ardour, the former arrived in sight of the German chasseurs, and did not attack them; the latter appeared too late upon the field of battle.

"The consequence was, that General Grey, finding his left flank secure, marched, with nearly the whole of the left wing, to the assistance of the centre, which, notwithstanding the unexpected resistance of Colonel Musgrave, was excessively

hard pressed in Germantown, where the Americans gained ground incessantly. The battle was now very warm at that village, the attack and the defence being equally vigorous. The issue appeared for some time dubious. General Agnew was mortally wounded, while charging with great bravery at the head of the fourth brigade. The American Colonel Matthews, of the column of Greene, assailed the English with so much fury, that he drove them before him into the town. He had taken a large number of prisoners, and was about entering the village, when he perceived that a thick fog and the unevenness of the ground had caused him to lose sight of the rest of his division. Being soon enveloped by the extremity of the right wing, which fell back upon him, when it had discovered that nothing was to be apprehended from the tardy approach of the militia of Maryland and Jersey, he was compelled to surrender with all his party; the English had already rescued their prisoners. This check was the cause that two regiments of the English right wing were enabled to throw themselves into Germantown, and to attack the Americans who had entered it in flank. Unable to sustain the shock, they retired precipitately, leaving a great number of killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave was then relieved from his peril. General Grey, being absolute master of Germantown, flew to the succour of the right wing, which was engaged with the left of the column of Greene. The Americans then took to flight, abandoning to the English, throughout the line, a victory of which, in the commencement of the action, they had felt assured.

"The principal causes of the failure of this well-concerted enterprise were, the extreme haziness of the weather; which was so thick that the Americans could neither discover the situation nor movements of the British army, nor yet those of their own; in the inequality of the ground, which incessantly broke the ranks of their battalions; an inconvenience more serious and difficult to be repaired, for new and inexperienced troops, as were most of the Americans, than for the English veterans; and, finally, the unexpected resistance of Musgrave,

who found means, in a critical moment, to transform a mere house into an impregnable fortress.

Thus fortune, who at first had appeared disposed to favour one party, suddenly declared on the side of their adversaries. Lord Cornwallis, being at Philadelphia, upon intelligence of the attack upon the camp, flew to its succour with a corps of cavalry and the grenadiers; but when he reached the field of battle, the Americans had already left it. They had 200 men killed in this action; the number of wounded amounted to 600, and about 400 were made prisoners. The loss of the British was a little over 500, in killed and wounded. The American army saved all its artillery, and retreated the same day about twenty miles, to Perkioming Creek.

The Congress expressed in decided terms their approbation, both of the plan of this enterprise and the courage with which it was executed; for which their thanks were given to the general and the army.

A few days after the battle, the royal army removed from Germantown to Philadelphia. The want of provisions would not have permitted Howe to follow the enemy into his fastnesses, and he was desirous of co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the Delaware. Washington, having received a small reinforcement of 1500 militia, and a state regiment from Virginia, again advanced a few miles towards the English, and encamped once more at Shippack Creek! Thus, the British general might have seen that he had to grapple with an adversary, who, far from allowing himself to be discouraged by adverse fortune, seemed, on the contrary, to gain by it more formidable energies; who, the moment after the defeat, was prepared to resume the offensive; and whose firmness and activity were such, that even the victories obtained by his adversaries only yielded them *the effects of defeat.*"

Our Fabius, posted on the heights of the Schuylkill, repressed the excursions of the enemy, and cut off their provisions, with his cavalry and light troops, which caused Benjamin Franklin very shrewdly to remark: "*Philadelphia has taken Howe.*"

Here we shall leave Howe for the present, confident that if he ventures to come out to do mischief to Pennsylvania, he will have Washington hanging to his coat tail, like a huge mastiff to a midnight thief.

CHAPTER XIII.

Thoughts on Saratoga—Campaign of Canada—Arnold joins Sullivan—Americans retire to Crown Point—British Armament on Lake Champlain—Americans construct a naval Force—Battle on Lake Champlain—Americans abandon Crown Point—Ticonderoga invested—American Forces retreat—Battle of Hubbardstown—Americans defeated—Fort Ann taken—Action at Fort Schuyler—Siege of the Fort raised—Battle of Bennington—Murder of Miss M'Crea—Battle of Saratoga—Surrender of Burgoyne—Individual Sufferings—Treaty with France.

"Now, yield thee, or, by Him who made
The world, thy heart's blood dyes my blade!"

"Warrior in battle hour,
Whence is thy kindling eye—the lip of pride—
Thy stately tread—when Death roams wide,
In his withering power?
A swift flush softened that stern, dark brow:
'Tis for my own free home I am warring now!"

In our pilgrimage to the battle-fields of the United States, none produced a deeper impression on our mind than that of Saratoga; situated on the Hudson river, eighteen miles above Troy, and about the same distance from Saratoga Springs. The extensive preparations of the enemy; their sanguine hopes; their league with the Indians; their dreadful reverses, connected with many romantic incidents; the glorious victory of the Americans, and the results it produced in hastening our cause to a favourable issue; all crowd upon the mind and sink deep into our souls, as we wander over Bemus's Heights.

But before we proceed in the description of this place of terror and of romance, it will be necessary to go back to Canada and begin this *third* part of the grand campaign of the British ministers, described in the opening of Chapter Seventh.

The army of Canada had been strongly reinforced from England in the spring of 1776, and preparations were made to execute the plan of the ministry by penetrating by the way of the lakes to the Hudson river, descending that river, and forming a junction with the army of New York at Albany. It was supposed, that all inter ourse being thus cut off between the New England and the southern provinces, the colonists would be terrified into submission and the war brought to a close. With the exception of a distance of sixteen miles, between Lake George and the left bank of the Hudson, the whole passage could be effected by water.

Near the conclusion of Chapter Fifth, we stated that the American army in Canada, being entirely too small to execute the object of its expedition, especially after its reduction by small-pox, and the reinforcements of the enemy, had been obliged to abandon one post after another, until they had entirely evacuated Canada. After many daring adventures and skilful manœuvres in his retreat, Arnold gained fort St. John, where he effected a junction with General Sullivan. But this general viewing the position in an unfavourable light, dismantled the fortifications, set fire to the magazines and barracks, and withdrew under the cannon of Crown Point. The whole length of Lake Champlain was thus interposed between themselves and the enemy, and having a number of armed vessels on the lake, the English could not follow them without first arming a fleet superior to that of the Americans, as the vessels brought from England could not safely be brought into the lake, over the falls of the Sorel, near fort Chamblée. Accordingly, General Carleton, Governor of Canada, constructed and equipped a fleet of thirty vessels of various dimensions, and armed them with artillery. A number of flat-bottomed boats and 400 batteaux were also in readiness. About the middle of October the armament was fully equipped, and the command was given to Captain Pringle, a sea-officer of great experience. The ship of the admiral, called the Inflexible, carried eighteen twelve-pounders; two schooners mounted, one fourteen, the other twelve six-pounders; a large radeau carried six twenty-four and six twelve-

pounders. Twenty vessels carried each a piece of brass ordnance, from nine to twenty-four-pounders or howitzers. Long-boats were equipped in the same manner. Besides these, there were a number of boats to serve as transports for the troops, baggage, stores, provisions, and arms.

The American army at this time amounted to between 8000 and 9000 men, commanded by Generals Schuyler and Gates, while Arnold, full of military ardour, infused energy and spirit into the soldiers. The army was assembled under the cannon of Ticonderoga, having left a garrison at Crown Point.

It was necessary for the Americans to arm and equip a fleet before they could oppose the enemy by naval operations. Great efforts were promptly made to accomplish this purpose, but owing to a want of proper materials and the difficulty of procuring carpenters, who were engaged in building privateers and ships for Congress, the American generals could not produce a squdron of more than fifteen vessels of different sizes, two brigs, one corvette, one sloop, three galleys, and eight gondolas. Their largest vessels mounted only twelve six and four-pounders. The command of this armament was given to General Arnold, who it will appear could sustain the same reputation upon this new element as upon land.

General Carleton now advanced towards Crown Point, with the intention of attacking the Americans there. He had already advanced half-way down the lake when he discovered the American squadron, drawn up skilfully behind the little island of Valincour and along the passage between the island and the western shore of the lake. A tremendous battle ensued, as may be presumed when Arnold was the chief. The wind being unfavourable for the enemy, after fighting four hours, Captain Pringle gave the signal of retreat. The largest brig of the Americans took fire and was burnt in the action, and a gondola sunk. Arnold not thinking it advisable to risk another engagement under such fearful odds, determined to retreat to Crown Point, but owing to adverse winds, he was overtaken by the enemy, when the battle was renewed with more fury than the first, and was continued for two

hours more. During this action the greater number of Arnold's vessels crowded sail and escaped to Ticonderoga, while only two galleys and five gondolas remained with him. Finding that all his desperate efforts were unavailing against such a force as that of the enemy, he resorted to an expedient that astonished the enemy and elicited the applause of his countrymen. To prevent the vessels from falling into the hands of the enemy, he ran them ashore and set them on fire. The Americans now destroyed all they could at Crown Point and retired to Ticonderoga, and Carleton was soon joined by his army, intended to operate by land. As the season was too much advanced to afford any prospects to reach Albany before the commencement of the severity of winter, especially as this would not be accomplished without the previous reduction of Ticonderoga, the siege of which, to say the least, must be long, difficult and sanguinary, and calculating the dangers of having his provisions cut off by the ice in the waters in his rear, with many other perils, he conducted his army back towards Montreal, in the beginning of November.

In the spring of 1777, the campaign was again opened. General Burgoyne had gone to England the preceding winter, to concert with the ministers the means of carrying into effect the plan which he submitted to them, for the conquest of America. He received the chief command of the army of Canada, and returned to Quebec, where he arrived about the beginning of May. Great preparations had been made in England and in Canada for this grand enterprise, which nearly all England expected would succeed. Burgoyne, with an army of 7000 troops, of whom about one-half were English and Germans, and the rest Canadians; besides an unusually powerful train of artillery, and several tribes of Indians, which the British government had employed; left Canada, accompanied by able and experienced officers, the principal of whom were, Major-General Phillips; Brigadier-Generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton, with the Brunswick major-general, Baron Reidesel, and Brigadier-General Specht, and on the 1st of July landed and invested Ticonderoga.

The garrison at Ticonderoga at this time consisted of only

about 3000 men, commanded by General St. Clair. Too feeble to defend such extensive works, and at the same time to fortify Mount Defiance, which overlooks and commands the fort, the latter was unprotected. The enemy examined it, and, with great labour and difficulty, commenced establishing their artillery upon the summit. Nearly surrounded by the enemy, and convinced that he must surrender at discretion, if he remained until the completion of the batteries, St. Clair called a council of war, where it was resolved to evacuate the place without delay. To this conclusion they came the more readily, because they knew that General Schuyler, who had the command of the army of the north, was at fort Edward, and had not force enough to defend himself.

In the night of the 5th of July the retreat was commenced, in profound silence; but a house taking fire, the light attracted the attention of the enemy, and they discovered what had taken place. General Frazer, with a strong detachment, was sent in pursuit, and overtaking the rear of the Americans, on the morning of the 7th, at Hubbardston, twenty-four miles from the fort, a long and sanguinary battle was fought. The enemy at last began to fall back in disorder, when General Reidesel arrived with reinforcements, and took part in the action. Overpowered by numbers, the Americans fled in every direction, leaving many of their officers, and upwards of 200 soldiers dead on the field. About 600 were wounded, many of whom perished miserably in the woods. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was 180. General St. Clair proceeded by a circuitous route to fort Edward, where he joined General Schuyler. The English generals now directed their attention to fort Ann, to which some of the Americans had fled, in their retreat from Ticonderoga. Colonel Hill was despatched to drive them away. Colonel Long, who commanded the fort, sallied out to meet him, and a bloody conflict took place. After the combat had raged for two hours, and victory was still doubtful, the horrible yells of the savages were heard; and another reinforcement approaching, the Americans retreated to the fort, set it on fire, and retired to fort Edward, on the Hudson, only six miles distant. Bur-

goyne, with the main army, was still at Skeenesborough, about to plunge into the fearful solitudes of an almost impenetrable forest, on his way to fort Edward. Another column he ordered to embark at the same time at Ticonderoga, proceed up lake George, reduce the fort of the same name, and join him at fort Edward.

Meanwhile, General Schuyler, whose army at fort Edward did not exceed 4000 men, made almost incredible exertions to impede the progress of the enemy through the wilderness from fort Ann, by throwing every obstacle in their way. The ground between these two forts is exceedingly rough and difficult, full of creeks, as well as wide and deep morasses. The American general opened trenches, obstructed the roads, broke down the bridges, cut trees across and lengthwise into the narrow defiles, so as to render a speedy arrival of the enemy on the Hudson impossible. This, he knew, would afford the Americans time to receive reinforcements, and be better prepared for defence.

The loss of the American forts, constituting the keys to the States; the loss of 128 pieces of artillery, with immense quantities of warlike stores, baggage and provisions, not only had an injurious effect on the *morale* of the army, but retarded the enlistment of others. The reputation of the officers was assailed. The most ridiculous stories were circulated of St. Clair; and even General Schuyler did not escape the venom of detraction and of slander, after all his patriotic services and incessant toils;

> "And sterner hearts alone can feel
> The wound that time can never heal."

When the news of Burgoyne's success in taking the forts reached England, the ministers, the government, and the people became almost frantic with joy, confident of the speedy success of their arms, in bringing the audacious *rebels* to the foot of the British throne.

After the most Herculean exertions, Burgoyne arrived at fort Edward, *on the 30th of July.* For this delay, so beneficial to our cause, let us drop a laurel wreath on the tomb of

Schuyler. This the reader will the more readily grant to his memory at the end of the campaign.

General Schuyler, still unwilling to risk his army by defending fort Edward, retired four miles down the river, and entrenched himself; and becoming apprehensive that Colonel St. Leger, who, after the reduction of fort Stanwix, against which he had been sent, might descend the left bank of the Mohawk, and cut off his retreat, he moved lower down the Hudson, where he threw up entrenchments on Van Shaick's island, formed by the mouths of the Mohawk. At the same time, the Americans retired from fort George, after burning their vessels upon the lake, to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands.

The two generals were now incessantly employed—the one in increasing the number of his soldiers, the other in feeding those he brought from Canada. Every possible effort was made to increase the northern army, not only by Schuyler, but also by Congress and by Washington. General Lincoln was sent to New England to persuade the militia to enlist in the defence of their country. Arnold was sent to the army to *fight*—emphatically to fight. He was a terrible fellow, and no traitor *yet;* consequently we can do him justice with a better grace. Colonel Morgan, with his troop of light horse, was also ordered to repair to the Hudson. The army was thus daily increasing. On the other hand, Burgoyne, who was still at fort Edward, finding himself in a hostile country, where he could obtain no provisions, except from the lakes, began to lose some of the exultation he felt on his arrival on the Hudson. The roads from fort George, a distance of eighteen miles, were in some parts steep, and in others in bad repair. Horses and oxen were employed to drag provisions, ammunition, and batteaux to the army; and among the military stores, were *uniforms for those Americans who should join the British army.*

With the most indefatigable perseverance, they could only supply the army with provisions for immediate use, without being able to lay up a store which would enable them to proceed further from the source of their subsistence.

But, before we follow Burgoyne any further in his unexpected embarrassments, we must give some attention to the proceedings at fort Stanwix, sometimes called fort Schuyler. On the 3d of August, Colonel St. Leger, with 800 English, Germans, Canadians, and American loyalists, followed by a number of savages, had invested this fort, which was defended by Colonels Gansavort and Willet, with 700 men. General Herkimer assembled a number of militia, and marched to the relief of the fort. When within six miles of the fort, he sent an express to inform Gansavort that he would attempt to join his garrison. A successful sally was made from the fort by Willet to favour the enterprise. Herkimer advanced incautiously, without a reconnoitering party in front, or rangers upon his flank, and fell into an ambuscade formed by Sir John Johnson, with a party of regulars and Indians, who had concealed themselves in the woods. No sooner had the Americans passed, than the savages, with fiendish yell, fell upon their rear like enraged wild beasts. The woods resounded with the dreadful din of arms, and a horrible slaughter of those who resisted, and those who surrendered, disgraced the nation who employed these savage auxiliaries, always thirsting for blood and carnage. The Americans, though surprised, and somewhat dismayed, after keeping up a running fight for some time, formed themselves into a solid column on advantageous ground, and opposed their rifles and bayonets to the hatchet and spear of the savage. The enemy now hearing of the attack made upon their camp by Colonel Willet, retired to aid in its defence. The Americans lost 400 men, among whom was General Herkimer. The Indians lost sixty, in killed and wounded, among whom were several of their principal chiefs and favourite warriors.

Willet entered the camp of the enemy during the absence of this detachment, and after killing a great number, and driving the rest into the woods, he carried off many spoils, and raised a trophy under the American flag, floating over the wooden fort. After the defeat of Herkimer, Willet and another officer, Stockwell, (let his name be known,) undertook a most daring enterprise. *They penetrated through the camp*

of the enemy, eluding their vigilance, and travelled through a wilderness, a distance of fifty miles, to bring relief to the fort.

Meanwhile, St. Leger sent messages to Gansavort, demanding a surrender, promising to treat him according to the rules of *civilized nations,* if he submitted immediately, but made the most brutal threats as to what would be done by the Indians in case he refused.

The American officer replied like a man. He said he was intrusted with the charge of that garrison by the United States; that he should defend it at all hazards; and that he neither thought himself accountable for, nor should he at all concern himself about any consequences *that attended the discharge of his duty.*

A fearful retribution now appeared to threaten the British commander: the savages, who had lost many of their favourites, and who felt themselves disappointed in obtaining plunder, not only became sullen and ungovernable in a military point of view, but threatened to fall upon their employers, and rob their camp.

General Schuyler, upon receiving intelligence that this fort was besieged, despatched Arnold to its relief. Full of fire and energy, as usual, he hastened by forced marches towards his destination. The Indians, hearing of his approach, were terrified and dismayed at the name of Arnold. As they had already been dissatisfied with their alliance, they were now soon ready to abandon the camp. Some actually decamped, while the rest threatened to do the same if St. Leger did not retreat. The siege was raised on the 22d of August, and the enemy retreated. The Americans sallied from the fort and attacked their rear, and took their tents, artillery and stores. But their savage allies now became their worst enemies. They robbed the officers and the soldiers of their baggage, and killed many of those soldiers who could not keep up with the rest, until all was terror and confusion among the British troops. The inconceivable horrors produced by such a situation, is a fit subject for those American politicians to contemplate, who would form political alliances of any kind with those who have no feelings in common with themselves.

Such politicians we have, and it is the duty of the people to dispense with the services of such pseudo-patriots, who seek only their own advancement.

Two days after the siege was raised, Arnold arrived at the fort, and was received by the garrison as their deliverer. His services not being required now, he returned to the army at Van Shaick's Island. St. Leger retreated to Montreal, and afterwards joined Burgoyne by the way of Ticonderoga.

Unable to proceed without provisions, Burgoyne resolved to make an attack on Bennington, about twenty miles from the left side of the Hudson, where the Americans had large supplies of cattle, provisions, and stores, which they had received from the New England provinces. The German Colonel Baum was despatched with about 600 men, including 200 of Reidesel's dismounted dragoons and 100 savages.

To facilitate this enterprise, Burgoyne moved down the left side of the Hudson, and establishing his camp nearly opposite Saratoga, he threw a bridge of rafts across the river. The object of this was to hold the American army in check, by exciting a belief that they were on the point of being attacked. Colonel Stark, who was on his march to join General Schuyler with 1000 militia, hearing of the approach of Baum, altered his course and hastened towards Bennington, where he joined Colonel Warner, at the head of about the same number of militia. Baum, considering Stark too strong to be attacked, entrenched himself near Santcroick Mills, on the Walloon Creek, four miles from Bennington, and sent for Colonel Breyman, posted on Batten Kill, to join him. But Stark issued out from Bennington on the morning of the 16th of August, and attacked Baum in his entrenchments, with a firm resolve "to conquer or make Molly Stark a widow." The savages, British, and Canadians, soon fled into the woods, while the Germans fought vigorously until their ammunition was expended, when they made use of their swords. They were overwhelmed and made prisoners with their wounded commander.

Breyman now arrived, at four o'clock, and renewed the fight, which was continued until dusk, when the enemy retreated,

with great precipitation, and left baggage, muskets, artillery, and sabres in the power of the conqueror. The royalists lost in these two battles, about 200 killed, and 500 prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. Stark received the thanks of Congress and was made a brigadier-general. Colonel Warner, who seconded Stark, deserves great praise for his gallant conduct.

This was the first check the enemy received in this campaign, (the retreat at fort Stanwix taking place a few days later,) and it was a grievous one, as it placed them in a very critical situation, while the American army was daily increasing in strength and spirits.

On the 4th of August, when the affairs of the north yet wore a gloomy aspect, Congress had appointed General Gates commander of the army, in place of Schuyler, and, on the 21st, he arrived at Stillwater. Gates was a popular man, and it was supposed his name alone would have a beneficial influence. Schuyler complained bitterly to Washington; stating that the fruit of his toils was given to another, who was about to enjoy that victory for which he had prepared the way. Though superseded, Schuyler exerted his powers in defence of his country, exhibiting a zeal and patriotism worthy of all praise, at a period when his own injuries were severely felt.

The popularity of Gates in New England, had the effect which Congress anticipated and desired. The people enlisted with more alacrity and the northern army was rapidly increasing.

This enthusiasm of the people, however, is partly to be ascribed to their natural love of liberty, and the shocking outrages committed by the savages under Burgoyne and St. Leger. These savages prowled in the night like wild beasts —visited the houses—dragged out the inhabitants, and murdered men, women, and children in a most barbarous manner, whether they were loyalists or republicans. Among these victims was Miss Jane M'Crea, a young lady distinguished for her virtues, her beauty, and her amiable disposition; of a highly respectable family, and affianced to an officer then in

Burgoyne's army. The murder of this lady has been the theme of the poet, the novelist, and the orator, and her affecting story made a deep impression upon the minds of the American people.

"Two Mohawks met the maid—historian, hold!—
Poor human nature! must thy shame be told?
* * * * * *
She starts; with eyes upturn'd and fleeting breath,
In their raised axes views her instant death,
Spreads her white hands to heaven in frantic prayer,
Then runs to grasp their knees, and crouches there.
Her hair, half-lost along the shrubs she pass'd,
Rolls in loose tangles round her lovely waist;
Her kerchief, torn, betrays the globes of snow
That heave responsive to her weight of woe.
* * * * * *
With calculating pause and demon grin,
They seize her hands, and, through her face divine,
Drive the descending axe;" * * *

The story of Miss M'Crea has been told with various embellishments, sometimes so improbable as to be unworthy of credit. The plain facts in the case appear to be as follows: When the American army retreated from fort Edward, this young lady and the family with whom she lived remained in the vicinity of this fort. The Indians, on their arrival, made her prisoner, and on their return to Burgoyne's camp they halted at a spring, where a quarrel arose as to whom the captive belonged. "To put an end to the dispute," says General Wilkinson, "a monster tomahawked her, and thus she fell a victim to the ferocious brutality of the Indians."

The following account from the Port Folio is generally admitted to be one of the best. We would, however, take leave to premise that one part of this description appears to be inconsistent with itself, and another highly improbable. 1. The account of the nine wounds made with the "knife or tomahawk" does not accord with the assertion that "she was shot," and that "she instantly fell and expired." 2. It is not probable that Jones would send a letter by the savages requesting his intended to put herself under their charge. I

am not now appealing to ill-tempered old bachelors, but to young lovers who intend to pop the question the *next time*, (if their courage does not fail.) I would ask *you*, who are the best judges, would you send savages to protect the lady you loved, and ask any one of them to act as your proxy?—If not, how can you believe that Jones would do so? There is but one ground upon which we can give any credit to this part of the story: if the Indians were sent in the direction of the lady's residence by some superior officer, over whom Jones had no control, he might have adopted this method, at the same time offering a bribe to the savages to protect her from the indiscriminate murder of which they were usually guilty, and to lead her to his post, which he was not allowed to abandon. If this be true, it should be distinctly mentioned, to remove the otherwise unnatural features of the tale. The other parts of this description I believe to be correct. We said it is from the Port Folio; this paper, however, credits it to Jared Sparks' Life and Treason of Arnold.

The Murder of Miss M'Crea.

"The murder of Miss M'Crea has been a theme, which eloquence and sensibility have alike contributed to dignify, and which has kindled in many a breast the emotions of a responsive sympathy. General Gates' description, in his letter to Burgoyne, although more ornate than forcible, and abounding more in bad taste than simplicity or pathos, was suited to the feelings of the moment, and produced a lively impression in every part of America; and the glowing language of Burke, in one of his most celebrated speeches in the British Parliament, made the story of Jane M'Crea familiar to the European world.

"This young lady was the daughter of a clergyman, who died in New Jersey before the revolution. Upon her father's death she sought a home in the house of her brother, a respectable gentleman residing on the western bank of the Hudson river, about four miles below Fort Edward. Here she formed an intimacy with a young man named David Jones, to whom it was understood she was engaged to be

married. When the war broke out, Jones took the side of the royalists, went to Canada, received a commission, and was a captain or lieutenant among the provincials in Burgoyne's army.

"Fort Edward was situated on the eastern margin of the Hudson river, within a few yards of the water, and surrounded by a plane of considerable extent, which was cleared of wood and cultivated. On the road leading to the north, and near the foot of the hill, about one-third of a mile from the fort, stood a house occupied by Mrs. M'Neil, a widow lady and an acquaintance of Miss M'Crea, with whom she was staying as a visiter at the time the American army was in that neighbourhood. The side of the hill was covered with a growth of bushes, and on its top, a quarter of a mile from the house, stood a large pine tree, near the root of which gushed out a perennial spring of water. A guard of one hundred men had been left at the fort, and a picket under Lieutenant Van Vechten was stationed in the woods on the hill a little beyond the pine tree.

"Early one morning, this picket-guard was attacked by a party of Indians, rushing through the woods from different points at the same moment, and rending the air with hideous yells. Lieutenant Van Vechten and five others were killed and scalped, and four were wounded. Samuel Standish, one of the guard, whose post was near the pine tree, discharged his musket at the first Indian he saw, and ran down the hill towards the fort; but he had no sooner reached the plain, than three Indians, who had pursued him to cut off his retreat, darted out of the bushes, fired, and wounded him in the foot. One of them sprang upon him, threw him to the ground, pinioned his arms, and then pushed him violently forward up the hill. He naturally made as much haste as he could, and in a short time they came to the spring, where several Indians were assembled.

"Here Standish was left to himself, at a little distance from the spring and the pine tree, expecting every moment to share the fate of his comrades, whose scalps were conspicuously displayed. A few minutes only had elapsed, when he saw a

small party of Indians ascending the hill, and with them Mrs. M'Niel and Miss M'Crea on foot. He knew them both, having often been at Mrs. M'Niel's house. The party had hardly joined the other Indians, when he perceived much agitation among them, high words, and violent gestures, till at length they engaged in a furious quarrel, and beat one another with their muskets. In the midst of this fray, one of the chiefs, apparently in a paroxysm of rage, shot Miss M'Crea in the breast. She instantly fell and expired. Her hair was long and flowing. The same chief grasped it in his hand, seized his knife, and took off the scalp in such a manner as to include nearly the whole of the hair; then springing from the ground, he tossed it in the face of a young warrior, who stood near him watching the operation, brandished it in the air, and uttered a yell of savage exultation. When this was done the quarrel ceased; and, as the fort had already been alarmed, the Indians hurried away as quickly as possible to General Frazer's encampment, on the road to fort Ann, taking with them Mrs. M'Niel and Samuel Standish.

"The bodies of the slain were found by a party that went in pursuit, and were carried across the river. They had been stripped of their clothing, and the body of Miss M'Crea was wounded in nine places, either by a scalping-knife or a tomahawk. A messenger was despatched to convey the afflicting intelligence to her brother, who arrived soon afterwards, took charge of his sister's remains, and had them interred on the east side of the river, about three miles below the fort. The body of Lieutenant Van Vechten was buried at the same time, and on the same spot.

"History has preserved no facts by which we can, at this day, ascertain the reason why Miss M'Crea should remain as she did, in so exposed and unprotected a situation. She had been reminded of her danger by the people at the fort. Tradition relates, however, and with seeming truth, that through some medium of communication she had promised her lover, probably by his advice, to remain in this place, until the approach of the British troops should afford her an opportunity to join him, in company with her hostess and friend.

It is said that, when they saw the Indians coming to the house, they were at first frightened, and attempted to escape; but, as the Indians made signs of a pacific intention, and one of them held up a letter, intimating that it was to be opened, their fears were calmed, and the letter was read. It was from Jones, and contained a request that they would put themselves under the charge of the Indians, whom he had sent for the purpose, and who would guard them in safety to the British camp. Unfortunately, two separate parties of Indians, or at least two chiefs, acting independently of each other, had united in this enterprise, combining with it an attack on the picket-guard. It is incredible that Jones should have known this part of the arrangement, or he would have foreseen the danger it threatened. When the prize was in their hands, the two chiefs quarrelled about the mode of dividing the reward they were to receive; and, according to the Indian rule of settling disputes in the case of captives, one of them, in a wild fit of passion, killed the victim and secured the scalp. Nor is it the least shocking feature of the transaction, that the savage seemed not aware of the nature of his mission. Uninformed as to the motive of his employer for obtaining the person of the lady, or not comprehending it, he regarded her in the light of a prisoner, and supposed the scalp would be an acceptable trophy. Let it be imagined what were the feelings of the anxious lover, waiting with joyful anticipation the arrival of his intended bride, when this appalling proof of her death was presented to him. The innocent had suffered by the hand of cruelty and violence, which he had unconsciously armed; his most fondly cherished hopes were blasted, and a sting was planted in his soul, which time and forgetfulness could never eradicate. His spirit was scathed, and his heart broken. He lived but a few years, a prey to his sad recollections, and sunk into the grave under the burden of his grief.

"The remembrance of this melancholy tale is still cherished with a lively sympathy by the people who dwell near the scene of its principal incidents. The inhabitants of the village at fort Edward have lately removed the remains of

Miss M'Crea from their obscure resting-place, and deposited them in the public burial-ground. The ceremony was solemn and impressive: a procession of young men and maidens followed the relics, and wept in silence when the earth was again closed over them; thus exhibiting an honourable proof of sensibility and respect for the dead. The little fountain still pours its clear waters near the brow of the hill, and the venerable pine is yet standing in its ancient majesty, broken at the top and shorn of its branches by the winds and storms of half a century, but revered as marking the spot where youth and innocence were sacrificed in the tragical death of Jane M'Crea."

We now return to the two armies. One is on the left bank of the Hudson opposite Saratoga—the other on the island formed by a division of the Mohawk at its confluence with the Hudson.

We shall now attempt to give a sketch of the battle-ground, situated between the present encampments of the armies.

We always consider it in bad taste to speak of our own travels and observations, in a work like this, but by following the course of our journey, we can give the reader a better idea of places, than by any other method; and at the same time remove the confusion into which we were at first led, by the fact, that there is now a new Saratoga, and the old village of that name has been changed to Schuylerville. Stillwater, Bemus's Heights, and the plan of the present American encampment, are often spoken of indiscriminately, until the reader tortures his imagination in vain to give the battle-ground a local habitation and a name.

After visiting Saratoga springs, by the way of Schenectady, we returned to Troy and Albany by way of the Hudson river, that we might pass the battle-ground of Saratoga. Leaving the springs, we travelled in a private conveyance a distance of twelve miles, to old Saratoga, or Schuylerville, situated on the Hudson. At this place, as we shall see hereafter, Burgoyne surrendered; but the battle-field is about eight miles lower down the river. We got into a canal-boat and *crept* down the river with the speed of three miles an

hour, until opposite Bemus's Heights, where the entrenchments of the two armies can still be seen. The ground near the river is level, but several hundred yards off it rises abruptly into lofty heights, which at first are cut in various directions by such deep ravines, that it is exceedingly difficult to descend on the one side, and clamber up on the other. We experienced this, by wandering about these dreary abodes, in search of the old redoubts and the skirmishing grounds, celebrated in history. After climbing the steep hills near the river—wading through low marshy places—threading our way through a wilderness, over stumps of trees, logs, and stones—over, or rather *through* ditches, deep and wide; over, or *through* rivulets, according to their *width*, we at last inquired our way to "Freeman's Farm," on which we still see the British entrenchments. From this we proceeded to the hospitable abode of Mr. Joseph Walker, whose house is situated between the entrenchments of the two armies. One battle was fought in front of his house, and another near one end of it.

Here the old gentleman sits at the front door, which is kept open by a *cannon-ball*, a relic of the revolution. One of his children comes with *his* relics, (for every family residing on these battle-grounds, and sometimes every member of it, has a budget—as bones, skulls, cannon-balls, grape-shot, musket-balls, fragments of swords, regimental buttons, &c.) among which were some gold and silver coins, which were found with a skeleton while digging for skulls, to supply a phrenologist who had visited the place for that purpose. Mr. Walker says that the skeletons of a great number of men are so near the surface of the ground, in several places in the vicinity of his house, that the land is not now cultivated, because the plough would turn up a great number of human bones. The old gentleman has a book in which we were requested to record our name, which is there in *good company*, as we find the names of some of the most illustrious men from this country and from Europe in it. The next morning we visited the spot where Frazer fell mortally wounded, and from which he was taken to head-quarters on the Hudson,

two miles distant, where he died. This house stood until about a year ago, when all was taken down except the chimney. But we get in advance of our history; we are describing the relics of a battle before we give the battle itself—the skeletons of men before we tell how they became such.

We shall now return to the American army, moving up the river again to the ground of which we have just been speaking. But having traced the progress of this great campaign to this very interesting place, we shall lay before the reader the battle-scenes as we find them described in the "Memoirs of General Wilkinson," who was one of the actors. We select such parts as appear the most interesting.

"The American army, about 6000 strong, began to retrace its steps towards the enemy on the 8th of September, and reached Stillwater the next. The march was made in good order, and the character of the corps seemed renovated; courage and confidence having taken place of timidity and distrust. The ground at this place was again examined, a line for entrenchments traced, a fatigue of 1000 men put to work under Colonel Kosciusko, and the following order was issued on the 10th:—'Whether it may be immediately necessary to engage the enemy on this ground, or push them into Canada, the General has the firmest opinion that both officers and soldiers will be ready, at a moment's notice, to execute his commands.' But in the progress of the work it was discovered that the low grounds were too extensive to permit the occupancy of the heights on our left, without weakening our centre, and that by adopting the alternative, we should be exposed either to be forced or flanked: the position was therefore condemned as untenable, before a different one had been selected. It happened that I had, on the retreat of the army, taken notice of a narrow defile, two or three miles in our front, formed by a spur of the hills, jutting out close to the river. I communicated the circumstance to the General, and the ground was reconnoitred and approved; and on the 12th the army took possession of Bemus's Heights, destined to become the theatre of those hard-fought actions, which were to decide the fate of the campaign.

"The General had received no information of the situation of the enemy, subsequent to the visit of Doctor Wood, at which time Burgoyne occupied Duer's house, at old fort Miller, his élite at Batten-kiln, opposite to Saratoga; in fact, he knew not whether they were advancing, retreating, or stationary. This circumstance was embarrassing: parties of the riflemen had been tried; but being strangers to the topography of the country, they were at a loss for direction and made no discovery. Having passed frequently between fort Edward and Albany, and paid strict attention to the localities of the route, I believed that I could conduct a reconnoitring party with effect, and proposed it to the General, who approved my purpose, and accordingly, after night-fall the same day, I marched with 150 infantry and 20 select riflemen, under that incomparable subaltern, Lieutenant John Hardin.

"Under cover of a dark night, I advanced directly for Saratoga, and a little before day-break I reached the summit of a lofty height, about two miles from that place, called Davocote. During a momentary pause to take breath, I heard the *generale* beat some distance in my front, which indicated a military movement: I therefore halted, and having formed my party in a wood on the flanks of the road, detached Lieutenant Hardin with his riflemen to my right, by the low grounds on the side of the river, to make observations, and with an officer and three men, I proceeded under cover of the wood on the heights, to the right bank of the Fishkill, (or creek,) in the vicinity of Saratoga church. It was now broad daylight: I posted my men to keep a look-out towards the road on my right, and advancing cautiously, I discovered, within three hundred yards of me, on the opposite bank of the creek, a body of men drawn up under arms. At this moment I heard the march beat, and casting my eyes towards the river, I perceived a column of the enemy, descending from the heights below Batten-kill. These observations satisfied me General Burgoyne was advancing, and I rejoined my scout, who informed me that two of the enemy's infantry were robbing a garden under the hill. We immediately made these

men prisoners, and marched back with them to the detachment at the heights of Davocote, where I found Hardin, who had made no discovery, and we returned to camp about noon.

"By these prisoners, General Gates was informed of General Burgoyne's intentions: that chief, after immense labour and unavoidable delays, had at length brought forward from lake George to the Hudson river, his baggage, artillery, military stores, and a month's provisions, with a sufficiency of live stock, and land and water transport, to move the whole; and thus equipped, he concentrated his force, abandoned the communication with the lakes, which his numbers could not sustain, and crossed the river to prosecute his march to Albany, agreeably to his instructions. Our labours on the fortifications of our camp were redoubled in consequence of this advice, and calls for militia were transmitted to all quarters; the greater number of General Burgoyne's Indians had long before deserted him, and the few who remained had lost their spirit of enterprise: this circumstance gave our riflemen so decided a superiority, that on his approach, he could not make a motion without our knowledge, nor peep beyond his guards with safety. The condition of the two armies was precisely reversed; and the Americans now enjoyed, in the rifle corps, all the advantages which the enemy had derived from a cloud of barbarians at the opening of the campaign.

"General Burgoyne crossed the Hudson river the 13th and 14th of September, and advanced with great circumspection, on the 15th, from Saratoga to Davocote, where he halted to repair bridges in his front. The 16th was employed on this labour, and in reconnoitring; on the 17th he advanced a mile or two, resumed his march on the 18th, and General Arnold was detached by General Gates, with 1500 men, to harass him; but after a light skirmish he returned without loss, or effecting anything more than picking up a few stragglers; and the enemy moved forward and encamped, in two lines, about two miles from General Gates; his left on the river, and his right extending, at right angles to it, across the low grounds about 600 yards, to a range of steep and lofty heights, occupied by his élite, having a creek

or gulley in front, made by a rivulet which issued from a great ravine formed by the hills, which ran in a direction nearly parallel to the river, until within half a mile of the American camp.

"General Gates's right occupied the brow of the hill near the river, with which it was connected by a deep entrenchment; his camp, in the form of a segment of a great circle, the convex towards the enemy, extended rather obliquely to his rear, about three-fourths of a mile, to a knoll occupied by his left; his front was covered, from the right to the left of the centre, by a sharp ravine running parallel with his line and closely wooded; from thence to the knoll at his extreme left, the ground was level and had been partially cleared, some of the trees being felled and others girdled, beyond which, in front of his left flank, and extending to the enemy's right, there were several small fields in very imperfect cultivation, the surface broken and obstructed with stumps and fallen timber, and the whole bounded, on the west, by a steep eminence.

"The extremities of this camp were defended by strong batteries, and the interval was strengthened by a breastwork without entrenchments, constructed of the bodies of felled trees, logs, and rails, with an additional battery at an opening left of the centre. The right was almost impracticable; the left difficult of approach. I describe the defences of this position as they appeared about the 14th of October.

"The intermediate space between the adverse armies on the low grounds of the river, was open and in cultivation; the high land was clothed in its native woods, with the exception of three or four small, newly opened, and deserted farms, separated by intervals of woodland, and bordering on the flanks of the two armies most remote from the river; the principal of these was an oblong field, belonging to a person of the name of Freeman; there was also, exclusive of the ravines fronting the respective camps, a third ravine, about midway between them, running at right angles to the river. The intervening forest rendered it utterly impracticable to obtain a front view of the American position, or any part of

the British except its left near the river. On the 18th, Lieutenant-Colonel Colburn, of the New Hampshire line, was detached to the east side of the river, with a light party, to observe the movements of the enemy, by climbing forest trees or other practicable means, with orders to report such observations as he might consider worthy of notice.

"About eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th September, I received information from Colonel Colburn, that the enemy had struck the chief part of their tents on the plain near the river, had crossed the gulley at the gorge of the great ravine, and were ascending the heights in a direction towards our left. On making this communication to the general, he immediately ordered Colonel Morgan to advance with his corps, who was instructed, should he find the enemy approaching, to hang on their front and flanks, to retard their march, and cripple them as much as possible.

"About half-past twelve o'clock, a report of small-arms announced Morgan's corps to be engaged in front of our left; the general, with his suite, was at this time examining the battery which had been commenced on our left; I asked leave to repair to the scene of action, but was refused, with this observation, 'It is your duty, sir, to wait my orders.' This firing was of short duration, but was soon recommenced with redoubled vigour: I then made an excuse to visit the picket on the left for intelligence, put spurs to my horse, and, directed by the sound, had entered the wood about a hundred rods, when the fire suddenly ceased: I, however, pursued my course, and the first officer I fell in with was Major Dearborn, who, with great animation and not a little warmth, was forming thirty or forty file of his infantry; I exchanged a few words with him, passed on and met Major Morris, alone, who was never so sprightly as under a hot fire; from him I learned that the corps was advancing by files in two lines, when they unexpectedly fell upon a picket of the enemy, which they almost instantly forced, and, pursuing the fugitives, their front had as unexpectedly fallen in with the British line; that several officers and men had been made prisoners, and that, to save himself, he had been obliged to push his horse through the

ranks of the enemy, and escaped by a circuitous route. To show me where the action commenced, he leaped a fence into the abandoned field of Freeman, choked up with weeds, and led me to the cabin, which had been occupied by the British picket, but was then almost encircled with dead; he then cautioned me to keep a look-out for the enemy, who, he observed, could not be far from us; and as I never admired exposition from which neither advantage nor honour could be derived, I crossed the angle of the field, leaped the fence, and just before me, on a ridge, I discovered Lieutenant-Colonel Butler with three men, all *treed;* from him I learned that they had 'caught a Scotch prize;' that, having forced the picket, they had closed with the British line, had been instantly routed, and, from the suddenness of the shock and the nature of the ground, were broken and scattered in all directions; he repeated Morris's caution to me, and remarked that the enemy's sharp-shooters were on the opposite side of the ravine, and that, being on horseback, I should attract a shot. We changed our position, and the Colonel inquired what were Morgan's orders, and informed me that he had seen a heavy column moving towards our left. I then turned about to regain the camp, and report to the General, when my ears were saluted by an uncommon noise, which I approached, and perceived Colonel Morgan, attended by two men only, who, with a *turkey-call*, (an instrument made for decoying the wild turkey,) was collecting his dispersed troops. [A very appropriate instrument, if his men were *treed*.] The moment I came up to him, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, 'I am ruined, by G—d! Major Morris ran on so rapidly with the front, that they were beaten before I could get up with the rear, and my men are scattered God knows where.' I remarked to the Colonel, that he had a long day before him to retrieve an inauspicious beginning, and informed him where I had seen his field-officers, which appeared to cheer him, and we parted.

"Having reported to the General, he ordered out Cilley's and Scammel's regiments of New Hampshire, to march and fall in on the left of Morgan, for which purpose I gave them

the best direction my observation on the ground enabled me to do. These regiments advanced through the woods, took ground on the left of Morgan, and the action was renewed about one o'clock, and was supported with spirit, though subject to occasional pauses, as the troops on either side advanced, retired, and shifted their ground. Hale's regiment of New Hampshire, Van Courtland's and Henry Livingston's of New York, and Cook's and Latimer's of the Connecticut militia, were successively led to the field, with orders to extend to the left, and support those points of the action where they perceived the greatest pressure; our right being secured by thickets and ravines. About three o'clock, the action became general; and from that period until night-fall the fire of the musketry was incessant; the enemy brought four field-pieces into the engagement, but on our side the ground was impracticable for artillery. Towards evening General Learned's whole brigade was ordered out, consisting of Bailey's, Weston's, and Jackson's regiments, of Massachusetts, and James Livingston's, of New York, together with Marshall's regiment of Patterson's brigade, and the Massachusetts line. These troops got into action with a part of the British light corps, which had kept its ground to cover Burgoyne's right, and a column of Germans, whom he had drawn from his left just about sunset, and of consequence they were but lightly engaged, as is manifest from their loss. If these columns had met at an earlier hour of the day, something decisive must have taken place, the ground being somewhat open and on the right flank of the enemy. We had about 3000 men on the field, and the enemy, from General Burgoyne's account, about 3500; on our part, the stress of the action fell upon Morgan's corps and Poor's brigade, and on that of the enemy it was chiefly sustained by Hamilton's brigade, consisting of the 20th, 21st, and 62d British infantry, with a brigade of artillery under Captain Jones, who was killed.

"This battle was perfectly accidental; neither of the generals meditated an attack at the time, and but for Lieutenant-Colonel Colburn's report, it would not have taken place;

Burgoyne's movement being merely to take ground on the heights in front of the great ravine, to give his several corps their proper places in line, to embrace our front and cover his transports, stores, provisions and baggage in rear of his left; and on our side the defences of our camp being not half completed, and reinforcements daily arriving, it was not General Gates's policy to court an action. The misconception of the adverse chief put them on the defensive, and confined them to the ground they casually occupied at the beginning of the action, and prevented a single manœuvre, during one of the longest, warmest, and most obstinate battles fought in America. General Gates believed that his antagonist intended to attack him, and circumstances appeared to justify the like conclusion on the part of Burgoyne; and as the thickness and depth of the intervening wood concealed the position and movements of either army from its adversary, sound caution obliged the respective commanders to guard every assailable point; thus the flower of the British army, the grenadiers and light infantry, 1500 strong, were posted on an eminence to cover its right, and stood by their arms, inactive spectators of the conflict until near sunset; while General Gates was obliged to keep his right wing on post, to prevent the enemy from forcing that flank, by the plain bordering on the river. Had either of the generals been properly apprized of the dispositions of his antagonist, a serious blow might have been struck on our left or the enemy's right; but, although nothing is more common, it is as illiberal as it is unjust, to determine the merits of military operations by events exclusively.

"The theatre of action was such, that although the combatants changed ground a dozen times in the course of the day, the contest terminated on the spot where it began. This may be explained in a few words. The British line was formed on an eminence in a thin pine wood, having before it Freeman's farm, an oblong field stretching from the centre towards its right, the ground in front sloping gently down to the verge of this field, which was bordered on the opposite side by a close wood; the sanguinary scene lay in the cleared

ground, between the eminence occupied by the enemy and the wood just described; the fire of our marksmen from this wood was too deadly to be withstood by the enemy in line, and when they gave way and broke, our men, rushing from their covert, pursued them to the eminence, where, having their flanks protected, they rallied, and charging in turn drove us back into the wood, from whence a dreadful fire would again force them to fall back; and in this manner did the battle fluctuate, like waves of a stormy sea, with alternate advantage for four hours, without one moment's intermission. The British artillery fell into our possession at every charge, but we could neither turn the pieces upon the enemy, nor bring them off; the wood prevented the last, and the want of a match the first, as the lintstock was invariably carried off, and the rapidity of the transitions did not allow us time to provide one. The slaughter of this brigade of artillerists was remarkable, the captain and 36 men being killed or wounded out of 48. It was truly a gallant conflict, in which death, by familiarity, lost his terrors, and certainly a drawn battle, as night alone terminated it; the British army keeping its ground in rear of the field of action, and our corps, when they could no longer distinguish objects, retiring to their own camp." The enemy lost in killed and wounded more than 500 men, among whom was Captain Jones of the artillery. The American loss was between 300 and 400, among whom were Colonels Adams and Colburn.

After recording many letters, &c., Wilkinson continues: "General Burgoyne, having taken the determination to wait the movements of Sir Henry Clinton against fort Montgomery, turned his attention to the fortification of his camp. The army of General Gates was actively employed in similar labours, and the forest resounded under the strokes of the axe. Nevertheless the inaction of General Burgoyne was so opposite to his general character and apparent interests, that although the most desirable circumstance to General Gates, it caused him some perplexity. It was believed he expected succour from Canada, which was true; and such dispositions were made of our irregulars, as to render their arrival diffi-

cult if not impracticable; or he might, as was the fact, be waiting for co-operation from New York; and there was some apprehension, that he intended to transfer his army to the east side of the river, and by forcing a passage with his batteaux, to turn our right flank, though he had made no indication of such a movement. To penetrate any design he might have in that direction, I crossed the river with a detachment, and reconnoitred his left flank closely, but could make no other discovery than that he had thrown up a *tête de pont*. On my return to camp, I fell in with and captured 45 armed seamen, who were on a marauding party among the deserted plantations, but could draw no other information from them except that they were attached to the batteaux. Our numbers increased daily, and for want of suitable aliment our sick multiplied proportionably.

"Pending these scenes in the north, the grand army, under General Washington in the south, had been obliged, after the battle of Brandywine, to retire before the superior force of General Sir William Howe; and the commander-in-chief, feeling sensibly the loss of Morgan's corps, which he had generously detached to aid the northern army, made a provisional request for its return. The letters which passed on that subject, will throw some light on the situation of the respective commanders at that interesting epoch. The letter of General Washington bears date the day after Sir William Howe crossed the Schuylkill.

Camp, near Pottsgrove, Sept. 24th, 1777.

Sir,—This army has not been able to oppose General Howe with the success that was wished, and needs a reinforcement. I therefore request, if you have been so fortunate as to oblige General Burgoyne to retreat to Ticonderoga; or if you have not, and circumstances will admit, that you will order Colonel Morgan to join me again with his corps. I sent him up when I thought you materially wanted him, and if his services can be dispensed with now, you will direct him to return immediately. You will perceive I do not mention this by way of command, but leave you to determine upon it

according to your situation; if they come, they should proceed by water from Albany as low down as Peekskill; in such case you will give Colonel Morgan the necessary orders to join me with despatch.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Major-General Gates.

Camp, Bemus' Heights, Oct. 5, 1777.

SIR,—Since the action of the 19th ultimo, the enemy have kept the ground they occupied the morning of that day, and fortified their camp; the advanced sentries of my pickets are posted within a shot of and opposite to the enemy's; neither side have given ground an inch. In this situation, your excellency would not wish me to part with the corps the army of General Burgoyne are most afraid of. From the best intelligence, he has not more than three weeks' provisions in store; it will take him at least eight days to get back to Ticonderoga; so that in a fortnight at furthest, he must decide whether he will really risk at infinite disadvantage to force my camp, or retreat to his den: in either case, I must have the fairest prospect to be able to reinforce your excellency in a more considerable manner than by a single regiment. I am sorry to repeat to your excellency the distress I have suffered for want of a proper supply of musket cartridges from Springfield, or the materials to make them. The enclosed, from the commissary of ordnance stores at Albany, will convince your excellency of the truth of this assertion. My anxiety also, on account of provisions, has been inexpressible; a greater error has not been committed this war, than the changing the commissariat in the middle of the campaign. You, sir, must have your grievances, I therefore will not awaken them by enlarging upon mine.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO GATES.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

"The weather in the autumn of 1777, on the Hudson river, was charming, and the time glided away without any notable

occurrence. As early as the blockade of Boston, I had observed that beating to arms frequently produced false alarms, and always hurry; I had therefore prevailed on the general to forbid the practice. Yet on the afternoon of the 7th October, the advanced guard of the centre beat to arms; the alarm was repeated throughout the line, and the troops repaired to their alarm-posts. I was at head-quarters when this happened, and with the approbation of the General, mounted my horse to inquire the cause; but on reaching the guard where the beat commenced, I could obtain no other satisfaction, but that some person had reported the enemy to be advancing against our left. I proceeded over open ground, and, ascending a gentle acclivity in front of the guard, I perceived, about half a mile from the line of our encampment, several columns of the enemy, sixty or seventy rods from me, entering a wheat-field which had not been cut, and was separated from me by a small rivulet; and without my glass I could distinctly mark their every movement. After entering the field, they displayed, formed the line, and sat down in double ranks with their arms between their legs. Foragers then proceeded to cut the wheat or standing straw, and I soon after observed several officers, mounted on the top of a cabin, from whence with their glasses they were endeavouring to reconnoitre our left, which was concealed from their view by intervening woods.

"Having satisfied myself, after fifteen minutes' attentive observation, that no attack was meditated, I returned and reported to the General, who asked me what appeared to be the intentions of the enemy. 'They are foraging, and endeavouring to reconnoitre your left; and I think, sir, they offer you battle.' 'What is the nature of the ground, and what your opinions?' 'Their front is open, and their flanks rest on woods, under cover of which they may be attacked; their right is skirted by a lofty height. I would indulge them.' 'Well, then, order on Morgan to begin the game.' I waited on the colonel, whose corps was formed in front of our centre, and delivered the order; he knew the ground, and inquired the position of the enemy: they were formed across a newly

cultivated field, their grenadiers with several field-pieces on the left, bordering on a wood and a small ravine formed by the rivulet before alluded to; their light infantry on the right covered by a worm-fence at the foot of the hill before mentioned, thickly covered with wood; their centre composed of British and German battalions. Colonel Morgan, with his usual sagacity, proposed to make a circuit with his corps by our left, and under cover of the wood to gain the height on the right of the enemy, and from thence commence his attack, so soon as our fire should be opened against their left; the plan was the best which could be devised, and no doubt contributed essentially to the prompt and decisive victory we gained.

"This proposition was approved by the General, and it was concerted that time should be allowed the Colonel to make the proposed circuit, and gain his station on the enemy's right before the attack should be made on their left; Poor's brigade was ordered for this service, and the attack was commenced in due season on the flank and front of the British grenadiers, by the New Hampshire and New York troops.

"True to his purpose, Morgan, at this critical moment, poured down like a torrent from the hill, and attacked the right of the enemy in front and flank. Dearborn, at the moment when the enemy's light infantry were attempting to change front, pressed forward with ardour, and delivered a close fire; then leaped the fence, shouted, charged, and gallantly forced them to retire in disorder; yet, headed by that intrepid soldier, the Earl of Balcarras, they were immediately rallied, and re-formed behind a fence in rear of their first position; but being now attacked with great audacity in front and flank by superior numbers, resistance became vain; and the whole line, commanded by Burgoyne in person, gave way, and made a precipitate and disorderly retreat to his camp, leaving 2 twelve, and 6 six-pounders on the field, with the loss of more than 400 officers and men killed, wounded, and captured, and among them the flower of his officers, viz., Brigadier-General Frazer, Major Ackland, commanding the grenadiers; Sir Francis Clarke, his first aid-de-camp; Major

Williams, commanding officer of the artillery; Captain Money, deputy quartermaster-general, and many others. After delivering the order to General Poor, and directing him to the point of attack, I was peremptorily commanded to repair to the rear, and order up Ten Brœck's brigade of York militia, 3000 strong; I performed this service, and regained the field of battle at the moment the enemy had turned their backs, fifty-two minutes after the first shot was fired. The ground which had been occupied by the British grenadiers, presented a scene of complicated horror and exultation. In the square space of twelve or fifteen yards, lay eighteen grenadiers in the agonies of death, and three officers propped up against stumps of trees, two of them mortally wounded, bleeding, and almost speechless; what a spectacle for one whose bosom glowed with philanthropy; and how vehement the impulse, which can excite men of sensibility to seek such scenes of barbarism! I found the courageous Colonel Cilley a-straddle of a brass twelve-pounder, and exulting in the capture—whilst a surgeon, a man of great worth, who was dressing one of the officers, raising his blood-besmeared hands in a frenzy of patriotism, exclaimed, Wilkinson, I have dipped my hands in British blood. He received a sharp rebuke for his brutality; and, with the troops, I pursued the hard-pressed, flying enemy, passing over killed and wounded, until I heard one exclaim, 'Protect me, sir, against this boy!' Turning my eyes, it was my fortune to arrest the purpose of a lad, thirteen or fourteen years old, in the act of taking aim at a wounded officer, who lay in the angle of a worm-fence. Inquiring his rank, he answered, 'I had the honour to command the grenadiers;' of course, I knew him to be Major Ackland, who had been brought from the field to this place, on the back of a Captain Shrimpton of his own corps, under a heavy fire, and was here deposited to save the lives of both. I dismounted, took him by the hand, and expressed hopes that he was not badly wounded. 'Not badly,' replied this gallant officer and accomplished gentleman, 'but very inconveniently; I am shot through both legs: will you, sir, have the goodness to have me conveyed to your camp?' I directed my servant

to alight, and we lifted Ackland into his seat, and ordered him to be conducted to head-quarters. I then proceeded to the scene of renewed action, which embraced Burgoyne's right-flank defence, and extending to his left, crossed a hollow, covered with wood, about forty rods to the entrenchments of the light infantry: the roar of cannon and small-arms at this juncture was sublime, between the enemy, behind their works, and our troops, entirely exposed or partially sheltered by trees, stumps, or hollows, at various distances, not exceeding 120 yards. This right-flank defence of the enemy, occupied by the German corps of Breyman, consisted of a breast-work of rails, piled horizontally between perpendicular pickets, driven into the earth, formed *en potence* to the rest of the line, and extended about 250 yards across an open field, and was covered on the right by a battery of two guns. The interval from the left to the British light infantry, was committed to the defence of the provincialists, who occupied a couple of log-cabins. The Germans were encamped immediately behind the rail breast-work, and the ground in front of it declined in a very gentle slope for about 120 yards, when it sunk abruptly; our troops had formed a line under this declivity, and, covered breast-high, were warmly engaged with the Germans. From this position, about sunset, I perceived Brigadier-General Learned advancing towards the enemy with his brigade, in open column; I think with Colonel M. Jackson's regiment in front, as I saw Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, who commanded it, near the General when I rode up to him: on saluting this brave old soldier, he inquired, 'Where can I *put in* with most advantage?' I had particularly examined the ground between the left of the Germans and the light infantry, occupied by the provincialists, from whence I had observed a slack fire; I therefore recommended to General Learned to incline to his right, and attack at this point: he did so with great gallantry; the provincialists abandoned their position and fled; the German flank was by this means uncovered; they were assaulted vigorously, overturned in five minutes, and retreated in disorder, leaving their gallant commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, dead on the field. By

dislodging this corps, the whole British encampment was laid open to us; but the extreme darkness of the night, the fatigue of the men, and the disorder incident to undisciplined troops after so desultory an action, put it out of our power to improve the advantage; and in the course of the night General Burgoyne broke up his camp, and retired to his original position, which he had fortified, behind the great ravine."

We have omitted Wilkinson's remarks on General Arnold, because we do not think it right to condemn him until the proper period arrives. We abhor traitors, but we love justice; and as long as Arnold fights the battles of America, we should at least give him credit for *courage*, if we deny him everything else. After fighting in the field with a fierceness amounting to desperation, he rushed like an ocean wave upon Burgoyne himself, and drove him precipitately into his camp. After a most sanguinary action, he entered the works of the enemy with a few bold and daring men, when he received a severe wound in the same leg that was shattered at Quebec. He was obliged to retire, but his party continued the attack until dark.

Burgoyne, unable either to advance or maintain his present position, resolved to attempt to save his army by a retreat to Saratoga, where he intended to cross the river. Leaving his hospital of sick and wounded at the mercy of the Americans, who treated them well, he commenced his retreat on the 9th, but Gates had anticipated him by detaching a strong division of his army to take post on the left bank of the Hudson, opposite Saratoga. He had also thrown some militia into fort Edward, so that Burgoyne found both his retreat and his provisions cut off. After various unsuccessful attempts to escape and some hot skirmishing, the British commander called a council of war on the 13th, when it was unanimously resolved to propose terms to General Gates. While the council were deliberating, an eighteen-pound shot passed over their table, a very strong and impressive argument in favour of a capitulation. Preliminaries being settled, the British army, consisting of 5700 effective men, the remains of an army of 10,000, surrendered prisoners of war, on the 17th

of October. They marched out of their camp and deposited their arms along the Hudson near Saratoga, or Schuylerville, on the low ground, where a French fort once stood, the remains of which are still to be seen. The British army was supplied with food, and sent to Boston.

"But now Britannia's chief, with proud disdain,
Coop'd in his camp, demands the field again;
Back to their fate his splendid host he drew,
Swell'd high their rage, and led the charge anew;
Again the batteries roar, the lightnings play,
Again they fall, again they roll away;
For now Columbia, with rebounding might,
Foil'd quick their columns, but confined the flight:
Her wings, like fierce tornados, gyring ran,
Crush'd their wide flanks, and gain'd their flying van;
Here Arnold charged; the hero storm'd and pour'd
A thousand thunders where he turn'd his sword;
No pause, no parley; onward far he fray'd,
Dispersed whole squadrons every bound he made,
Broke through their rampart, seized their camp and stores,
And pluck'd the standard from their broken towers.
Aghast, confounded in the midway field,
They drop their arms; the banded nations yield.
When sad Burgoyne, in one disastrous day,
Sees future crowns and former wreaths decay,
His banners furl'd, his long battalions wheel'd
To pile their muskets on the battle-field;
While two pacific armies shade one plain,
The mighty victors and the captive train."

Nothing can show the horrors of war in so striking a manner as the recital of individual sufferings. We sympathize with the few, while we read the sufferings of the multitude as a pleasing tale.

The Baroness de Reidesel and Lady Harriet Ackland followed their husbands, the Baron de Reidesel and Major Ackland, officers in Burgoyne's army, through this difficult and, to them, most disastrous campaign.

Extract from the Baroness de Reidesel's Narrative.

"As we had to march still further, I ordered a large calash to be built, capable of holding my three children, myself and

two female servants; in this manner we moved with the army in the midst of the soldiery, who were very merry, singing songs and panting for action. We had to travel through almost impassable woods and a most picturesque and beautiful country, which was abandoned by its inhabitants, who had repaired to the standard of General Gates; they added much to his strength, as they were all good marksmen and fitted by habit for the species of warfare the contending parties were then engaged in—and the love of their country inspired them with more than ordinary courage. The army had shortly to encamp: I generally remained about an hour's march in the rear, where I received daily visits from my husband; the army was frequently engaged in small affairs, but nothing of importance took place; and as the season was getting cold, Major Williams of the artillery proposed to have a house built for me with a chimney, observing that it would not cost more than five or six guineas, and that the frequent change of quarters was very inconvenient to me. It was accordingly built, and was called the Block-house, from its square form and the resemblance it bore to those buildings.

"On the 19th of September, an affair happened, which, although it turned out to our advantage, yet obliged us to halt at a place called Freeman's farm; I was an eye-witness to the whole affair, and as my husband was engaged in it, I was full of anxiety, and trembled at every shot I heard; I saw a great number of the wounded, and what added to the distress of the scene, three of them were brought into the house in which I took shelter; one was a Major Harnage, of the 62d British regiment, the husband of a lady of my acquaintance; another was a lieutenant, married to a lady with whom I had the honour to be on terms of intimacy, and the third was an officer of the name of Young.

"In a short time afterwards I heard groans proceeding from a room near mine, and knew they must have been occasioned by the sufferings of the last-mentioned officer, who lay writhing in his wounds.

"His mournful situation interested me much, and the more so, because the recollection of many polite attentions, received

from a family of that name during my visit to England, was still forcibly impressed on my mind. I sent to him and begged him to accept my best services, and afterwards furnished him with food and refreshments; he expressed a great desire to see me, politely calling me his benefactress. I accordingly visited him, and found him lying on a little straw, as he had lost his equipage. He was a young man, eighteen or nineteen years of age, and really the beloved nephew of the Mr. Young, the head of the family I have mentioned, and the only son of his parents. This last circumstance was what he lamented most; as to his pain, he thought lightly of it. He had lost much blood, and it was thought necessary to amputate his leg, but this he would not consent to, and of course a mortification took place. I sent him my cushions and coverings, and my female friends sent him a mattrass. I redoubled my attentions to him, and visited him every day, for which I received a thousand wishes for my happiness. At last his limb was amputated, but it was too late, and he died the following day. As he lay in the next room to me, and the partition was very thin, I distinctly heard his last sigh, when his immortal part quitted its frail tenement, and, I trust, winged its way to the mansions of eternal bliss.

"But severe trials awaited us, and on the 7th October our misfortunes began. I was at breakfast with my husband, and heard that something was intended. On the same day I expected Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Frazer, to dine with us. I saw a great movement among the troops; my husband told me it was merely a reconnoissance, which gave me no concern, as it often happened. I walked out of the house and met several Indians in their war-dresses, with guns in their hands. When I asked them where they were going, they cried out, War! War! (meaning that they were going to battle.) This filled me with apprehension, and I had scarcely got home, before I heard reports of cannon and musketry, which grew louder by degrees, till at last the noise became excessive. About four o'clock in the afternoon, instead of the guests whom I expected, General Frazer was brought on a litter, mortally wounded. The table, which was

already set, was instantly removed, and a bed placed in its stead for the wounded general. I sat trembling in a corner; the noise grew louder and the alarm increased; the thought that my husband might perhaps be brought in, wounded in the same manner, was terrible to me, and distressed me exceedingly. General Frazer said to the surgeon, *'Tell me if my wound is mortal: do not flatter me.'* The ball had passed through his body, and, unhappily for the General, he had eaten a very hearty breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon said, had passed through it. I heard him often exclaim, with a sigh, 'Oh! fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! Oh! my poor wife!' He was asked if he had any request to make, to which he replied, that 'if General Burgoyne would permit it, he should like to be buried at six o'clock in the evening, on the top of a mountain, in a redoubt which had been built there.' I did not know which way to turn; all the other rooms were full of sick. Towards evening I saw my husband coming; then I forgot all my sorrows, and thanked God that he was spared to me. He ate in great haste with me and his aid-de-camp, behind the house. We had been told that we had the advantage of the enemy, but the sorrowful faces I beheld told a different tale; and before my husband went away, he took me on one side, and said everything was going very bad; that I must keep myself in readiness to leave the place, but not to mention it to any one. I made the pretence that I would move the next morning into my new house, and had everything packed up ready.

"Lady Harriet Ackland had a tent not far from our house; in this she slept, and the rest of the day she was in the camp. All of a sudden, a man came to tell her that her husband was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. On hearing this she became very miserable; we comforted her, by telling her that the wound was only slight; and, at the same time, advised her to go over to her husband—to do which, she would certainly obtain permission—and then she could attend him herself: she was a charming woman, and very fond of him. I spent much of the night in comforting her, and then went

again to my children, whom I had put to bed. I could not go to sleep, as I had General Frazer, and all the other wounded gentlemen in my room, and I was sadly afraid my children would awake, and by their crying, disturb the dying man in his last moments; who often addressed me, and apologized '*for the trouble he gave me.*' About three o'clock in the morning, I was told that he could not hold out much longer: I had desired to be informed of the near approach of this sad crisis; and I then wrapped up my children in their clothes, and went with them into the room below. About eight o'clock in the morning, *he died.* After he was laid out, and his corpse wrapped up in a sheet, we came again into the room, and had this sorrowful sight before us the whole day; and to add to the melancholy scene, almost every moment, some officer of my acquaintance was brought in wounded. The cannonade commenced again: a retreat was spoken of, but not the smallest motion was made towards it. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house which had just been built for me, in flames, and the enemy was now not far off. We knew that General Burgoyne would not refuse the last request of General Frazer; though, by his acceding to it, an unnecessary delay was occasioned, by which the inconvenience of the army was much increased. At six o'clock, the corpse was brought out, and we saw all the generals attend it to the mountain; the chaplain, Mr. Brudenell, performed the funeral service, rendered unusually solemn and awful, from its being accompanied by constant peals from the enemy's artillery. Many cannon-balls flew close by me; but I had my eyes directed towards the mountain, where my husband was standing, amidst the fire of the enemy, and, of course, I could not think of my own danger."

General Gates afterwards said, that if he had known it had been a funeral, he would not have permitted it to be fired on.

"As soon as the funeral service was finished, and the grave of General Frazer was closed, an order was issued that the army should retreat. My calash was prepared, but I would not consent to go before the troops. Major Harnage, although suffering from his wounds, crept from his bed, as he did not

wish to remain in the hospital, which was left with a flag of truce. When General Reidesel saw me in the midst of danger, he ordered my women and children to be brought into the calash, and intimated to me to depart without delay. I still prayed to remain, but my husband, knowing my weak side, said, 'Well, then your children must go, that, at least, they may be safe from danger.' I then agreed to enter the calash with them, and we set off at eight o'clock.

"The retreat was ordered to be conducted with the greatest silence; many fires were lighted, and several tents were left standing; we travelled continually during the night. At six o'clock in the morning we halted, which excited the surprise of all; General Burgoyne had the cannon ranged and counted; this delay seemed to displease every body, for if we could only have made another good march, we should have been in safety. My husband, quite exhausted with fatigue, came into my calash, and slept for three hours; during that time Captain Willoe brought me a bag full of bank-notes, and Captain Geismar his elegant watch, a ring, and a purse full of money, which they requested me to take care of, and which I promised to do to the utmost of my power. We again marched, but had scarcely proceeded an hour before we halted, as the enemy was in sight; it proved to be only a reconnoitring party of 200 men, who might easily have been made prisoners, if General Burgoyne had given proper orders on the occasion.

"The Indians had now lost their courage and were departing for their homes; these people appeared to droop much under adversity, and especially when they had no prospect of plunder. One of my waiting-women was in a state of despair, which approached to madness; she cursed and tore her hair, and, when I attempted to reason with her and to pacify her, she asked me if I was not grieved at our situation; and upon my saying 'I was,' she tore her cap off her head, and let her hair drop over her face, saying to me, 'It is very easy for you to be composed and talk; you have your husband with you; I have none, and what remains to me but the prospect of perishing or losing all I have;' I again bade her to take comfort, and assured her I would make good whatever she might

happen to lose; and I made the same promise to Ellen, my other waiting-woman, who, though filled with apprehensions, made no complaints.

"About evening we arrived at Saratoga; my dress was wet through and through with rain, and in that state I had to remain the whole night, having no place to change it; I however got close to a large fire, and at last lay down on some straw. At this moment, General Phillips came up to me, and I asked him why we had not continued our retreat, as my husband had promised to cover it and bring the army through? 'Poor, dear woman,' said he, 'I wonder how, drenched as you are, you have the courage still to persevere and venture further in this kind of weather; I wish,' continued he, 'you were our commanding general. General Burgoyne is tired, and means to halt here to-night, and give us our supper.'

"On the morning of the 9th, at ten o'clock, General Burgoyne ordered the retreat to be continued, and caused the handsome houses and mills of General Schuyler to be burned; we marched, however, but a short distance, and then halted. The greatest misery, at this time, prevailed in the army, and more than thirty officers came to me, for whom tea and coffee was prepared, and with whom I shared all my provisions, with which my calash was, in general, well supplied: for I had a cook, who was an excellent caterer, and who often, in the night, crossed small rivers and foraged on the inhabitants, bringing in with him sheep, small pigs, and poultry, for which he very often forgot to pay, though he received good pay from me, as long as I had any, and was, ultimately, handsomely rewarded. Our provisions now failed us for want of proper conduct in the commissary's department, and I began to despair. About two o'clock in the afternoon, we again heard a firing of cannon and small-arms; instantly all was alarm, and everything in motion. My husband told me to go to a house not far off; I immediately seated myself in my calash, with my children, and drove off, but scarcely had we reached it, before I discovered five or six armed men on the other side of the Hudson; instinctively I threw my children down in the calash, and then concealed myself with them; at that moment

the fellows fired, and wounded an already wounded English soldier, who was behind me; poor fellow, I pitied him exceedingly, but, at that moment, had no means or power to relieve him. A terrible cannonade was commenced by the enemy, which was directed against the house in which I sought to obtain shelter for myself and children, under the mistaken idea that all the generals were in it. Alas! it contained none but wounded and women; we were at last obliged to resort to the cellar for refuge, and, in one corner of this, I remained the whole day, my children sleeping on the earth with their heads in my lap, and, in the same situation, I passed a sleepless night. Eleven cannon-balls passed through the house, and we could distinctly hear them roll away. One poor soldier, who was lying on a table, for the purpose of having his leg amputated, was struck by a shot, which carried away his other; his comrades had left him, and when we went to his assistance, we found him in a corner of the room, into which he had crept, more dead than alive, scarcely breathing. My reflections on the danger to which my husband was exposed, now agonized me exceedingly, and the thoughts of my children, and the necessity of struggling for their preservation, alone sustained me.

"The ladies of the army who were with me were, Mrs. Harnage; a Mrs. Kennels, the widow of a lieutenant who was killed, and the lady of the commissary. Major Harnage, his wife, and Mrs. Kennels, made a little room in a corner, with curtains to it, and wished to do the same for me, but I preferred being near the door, in case of fire. Not far off, my woman slept, and opposite to us three English officers, who, though wounded, were determined not to be left behind; one of them was Captain Green, an aid-de-camp to Major-General Phillips, a very valuable officer, and most agreeable man. They each made me a most sacred promise not to leave me behind, and in case of a sudden retreat, that they would each of them take one of my children on his horse; and for myself, one of my husband's was in constant readiness.

"Our cook, whom I have before mentioned, procured us our meals: but we were in want of water, and I was often

obliged to drink wine, and to give it to my children. It was the only thing my husband took, which made our faithful hunter (Rockel) express one day his apprehensions, that the general was weary of his life, or fearful of being taken, as he drank so much wine.' The constant danger which my husband was in, kept me in a state of wretchedness, and I asked myself if it was possible I should be the only happy one, and have my husband spared to me unhurt, exposed, as he was, to so many perils. He never entered his tent, but laid down whole nights by the watch-fires; this, alone, was enough to have killed him, the cold was so intense.

"The want of water distressed us much; at length we found a soldier's wife, who had courage enough to fetch us some from the river; an office nobody else would undertake, as the Americans shot at every person who approached it; but, out of respect for her sex, they never molested her.

"I now occupied myself through the day, in attending the wounded: I made them tea and coffee, and often shared my dinner with them, for which they offered me a thousand expressions of gratitude. One day, a Canadian officer came to our cellar, who had scarcely the power of holding himself upright, and we concluded that he was dying for want of nourishment; I was happy in offering him my dinner, which strengthened him, and procured me his friendship. I now undertook the care of Major Bloomfield, another aid-de-camp of General Phillips; he had received a musket-ball through both cheeks, which in its course had knocked out several of his teeth, and cut his tongue; he could hold nothing in his mouth; the matter which ran from his wound almost choked him, and he was not able to take any nourishment except a little soup, or something liquid; we had some Rhenish wine, and in the hope that the acidity of it would cleanse his wound, I gave him a bottle of it; he took a little now and then, and with such effect, that his cure soon followed; thus I added another to my stock of friends, and derived a satisfaction, which, in the midst of sufferings, served to tranquillize me and diminish their acuteness.

"One day General Phillips accompanied my husband, at

the risk of their lives, on a visit to us, who, after having witnessed our situation, said to him, 'I would not for ten thousand guineas come again to this place: my heart is almost broken.'

"In this horrid situation we remained six days: a cessation of hostilities was now spoken of, and eventually took place; a convention was afterwards agreed upon; but one day a message was sent to my husband, who had visited me and was reposing in my bed, to attend a council of war, where it was proposed to break the convention, but, to my great joy, the majority was for adhering to it; on the 16th, however, my husband had to repair to his post and I to my cellar; this day fresh beef was served out to the officers, who, until now, had only salt provisions, which was very bad for their wounds. The good woman who brought us water, made us an excellent soup of the meat, but I had lost my appetite, and took nothing but crusts of bread dipped in wine. The wounded officers (my unfortunate companions) cut off the best bit and presented it to me on a plate; I declined eating anything, but they contended that it was necessary for me to take nourishment, and declared they would not touch a morsel, until I afforded them the pleasure of seeing me partake; I could no longer withstand their pressing invitations, accompanied as they were by assurances of the happiness they had in offering me the first good thing they had in their power, and I partook of a repast rendered palatable by the kindness and good will of my fellow-sufferers, forgetting for the moment the misery of our apartment and the absence of almost every comfort.

"On the 17th of October the convention was completed. General Burgoyne and the other generals waited on the American general (Gates); the troops laid down their arms, and gave themselves up prisoners of war! and now the good woman who had supplied us with water at the hazard of her life, received the reward of her services; each of us threw a handful of money into her apron, and she got altogether about twenty guineas. At such a moment as this, how susceptible is the heart of feelings of gratitude!

"My husband sent a message to me to come over to him with my children. I seated myself once more in my dear calash, and then rode through the American camp. As I passed on, I observed (and this was a great consolation to me) that no one eyed me with looks of resentment, but that they all greeted us, and even showed compassion in their countenances, at the sight of a woman with small children. I was, I confess, afraid to go over to the enemy, as it was quite a new situation to me. When I drew near the tents, a handsome man approached and met me, *took my children from the calash, and hugged and kissed them, which affected me almost to tears.* 'You tremble,' said he, addressing himself to me, 'be not afraid.' 'No,' I answered, 'you seem so kind and tender to my children, it inspires me with courage.' He now led me to the tent of General Gates, where I found Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, who were on a friendly footing with the former. Burgoyne said to me, 'Never mind, your sorrows have now an end.' I answered him that I should be reprehensible to have any cares, as he had none; and I was pleased to see him on such a friendly footing with General Gates. All the generals remained to dine with General Gates.

"The same gentleman who received me so kindly, now came and said to me, 'You will be very much embarrassed to eat with all these gentlemen; *come with your children to my tent, where I will prepare for you a frugal dinner, and give it with a free will.*' I said, 'YOU ARE CERTAINLY A HUSBAND AND A FATHER, *you have shown me so much kindness.*' I now found that he was GENERAL SCHUYLER. He treated me with excellent smoked tongue, beef-steaks, potatoes, and good bread and butter! Never could I have wished to eat a better dinner: I was content: I saw all around me were so likewise; and what was better than all, my husband was out of danger! When we had dined, he told me his residence was at Albany, and that General Burgoyne intended to honour him as his guest, and invited myself and children to do so likewise. I asked my husband how I should act; he told me to accept the invitation. As it was two days' journey there, he advised me to go to a place which was about three hours'

ride distant. General Schuyler had the politeness to send with me a French officer, a very agreeable man, who commanded the reconnoitring party of which I have before spoken; and when he had escorted me to the house where I was to remain, he turned back again. In the house I found a French surgeon, who had under his care a Brunswick officer who was mortally wounded, and died some days afterwards. The Frenchman boasted much of the care he took of his patient, and perhaps was skilful enough as a surgeon, but otherwise was a mere simpleton: he was rejoiced when he found out I could speak his language, and began to address many empty and impertinent speeches to me; said, among other things, he could not believe that I was a general's wife, as he was certain a woman of such rank would not follow her husband; he wished me to remain with him, as he said it was better to be with the conquerors than the conquered. I was shocked at his impudence; but dared not show the contempt and disdain I felt for him, because it would deprive me of a place of safety! Towards evening he begged me to take a part of his chamber: I told him I was determined to remain in the room with the wounded officers; whereupon he attempted to pay me some stupid compliments. *At this moment the door opened, and my husband with his aid-de-camp entered.* I then said, 'Here, sir, is my husband;' and at the same time eyed him with scorn, whereupon he retired abashed; nevertheless he was *so polite* as to offer his chamber to us.

"Some days after this, we arrived at Albany, where we so often wished ourselves; but we did not enter it as we expected we should—victors! We were received *by the good General Schuyler, his wife and daughters,* not as enemies, but kind friends, and they treated us with the most marked attention and politeness, as they did General Burgoyne, who had caused General Schuyler's beautifully finished house to be burned; in fact, they behaved like persons of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollection of *their own* injuries in the contemplation of *our* misfortunes. General Burgoyne was struck with General Schuyler's generosity, and said to him, '*You show me great kindness, although I have done you*

much injury.' 'That was the fate of war,' replied the brave man, *'let us say no more about it.'"—Wilkinson's Memoirs.*

But we must not forget Lady Harriet Ackland. This lady, says General Burgoyne, in his "State of the Expedition from Canada," had accompanied her husband to Canada, in the beginning of the year 1776. In the course of that campaign, she traversed a vast space of country, in different extremities of the season, and with difficulties of which a European traveller cannot easily conceive.

In the opening of the campaign of 1777, she was restrained from offering herself to a share of the fatigue and hazard expected before Ticonderoga, by the positive injunctions of her husband. The day after the conquest of the place, he was badly wounded, and she crossed lake Champlain to join him.

As soon as he recovered, Lady Harriet proceeded to follow his fortunes through the campaign; and at fort Edward, or at the next camp, she acquired a two-wheeled tumbril, which had been constructed by the artificers of the artillery, something similar to the carriage used for the mail, upon the great roads in England. Major Ackland commanded the British grenadiers, which were attached to General Frazer's corps; and, consequently, were always the most advanced part of the army. They were often so much on the alert, that no person slept out of his clothes. One of their temporary encampments, a tent in which the major and Lady Harriet were asleep, suddenly took fire. An orderly sergeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of suffocation, dragged out the first person he caught hold of. It proved to be the major. It happened that, in the same instant, she had, unknowing what she did, and, perhaps, not perfectly awaked, providentially made her escape, by creeping under the walls of the tent. The first object she saw, upon the recovery of her senses, was the major on the other side; and, in the same instant, again in the fire in search of her. The sergeant again saved him, but not without the major's being very severely burned in his face, and different parts of his body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed.

This accident happened a little time before the army crossed the Hudson, the 13th of September. It neither altered the resolution nor cheerfulness of Lady Harriet, and she continued her progress, a partaker of the fatigues of the advanced corps. The next call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and more distressing, as of longer suspense. On the morning of the 19th of September, the grenadiers being liable to action at every step, she had been directed by the Major to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which were not exposed. At the time the action began, she found herself near an uninhabited hut, where she alighted. When it was found the action was becoming general, the surgeon of the hospital took possession of the same place, as the most convenient for the first care of the wounded. Thus was this lady in the hearing of one continued fire of cannon and musketry, for four hours, together with the presumption, from the post of her husband, at the head of the grenadiers, that he was in the most exposed part of the action. She had three female companions; the Baroness of Reidesel, and the wives of two British officers, Major Harnage, and Lieutenant Reynell; but in the event, their presence served but little for comfort. Major Harnage was soon brought to the surgeon, very badly wounded; and, a little time after, came the intelligence that Lieutenant Reynell was shot dead. Imagination will want no help to figure the state of the whole group.

From the date of that action to the 7th of October, Lady Harriet, with her usual serenity, stood prepared for new trials; and it was her lot that their severity increased with their number. She was again exposed to the hearing of the whole action, and at last received the news of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity; the troops were defeated, and Major Ackland, desperately wounded, was a prisoner.

The day of the 8th was passed by Lady Harriet and her companions in uncommon anxiety; not a tent nor a shed being standing, except what belonged to the hospital, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying.

"When the army was upon the point of moving," says

Burgoyne, "I received a message from Lady Harriet, submitting to my decision a proposal, and expressing an earnest solicitude to execute it, if not interfering with my designs, of passing to the camp of the enemy, and requesting General Gates's permission to attend her husband.

"Though I was ready to believe, for I had experienced, that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at the proposal. After so long an agitation, exhausted, not only from want of rest, but absolutely from want of food, drenched in rain for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hand she might first fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assurance I was enabled to give was small indeed. I had not even a cup of wine to offer; but I was told she found, from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furnish to her was an open boat, and a few lines, written upon dirty and wet paper, to General Gates, recommending her to his protection."

Oct. 9, 1777.

Sir,—Lady Harriet Ackland, a lady of the first distinction by family, rank, and personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland, her husband, wounded and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection.

Whatever general impropriety there may be in persons, acting in your situation or mine, to solicit favours, I cannot see the uncommon pre-eminence in every female grace and exaltation of character in this lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligations.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

M. G. Gates. J. Burgoyne.

With this letter did this woman, who was of the most tender and delicate frame, habituated to all the soft elegancies and refined enjoyments that attend high birth and for-

tune, and far advanced in a state in which the tenderest cares, always due to the sex, become indispensably necessary, in an open boat leave the camp of Burgoyne with a flag of truce for that of the enemy. The night was advanced before the boat reached the shore. Lady Harriet was immediately conveyed into the apartment of Major Henry Dearborn, since Major-General, who commanded the guard at that place, and every attention was paid her which her rank and situation demanded, and which circumstances permitted. Early in the morning, she was permitted to proceed in the boat to the camp, where General Gates, whose gallantry will not be denied, stood ready to receive her with due respect and courtesy. Having ascertained that Major Ackland had set out for Albany, Lady Harriet proceeded, by permission, to join him. Some time after, Major Ackland effected his exchange, and returned to England. The catastrophe of this tale is affecting. Ackland, after his return to England, procured a regiment, and at a dinner of military men, where the courage of the Americans was made a question, took the negative side with his usual decision. He was opposed, warmth ensued, and he gave the lie direct to a Lieutenant Lloyd, fought him, and was shot through the head. Lady Harriet lost her senses, and continued deranged two years, after which she married Mr. Brudenell, who accompanied her from General Burgoyne's camp, when she sought her wounded husband on Hudson river.

Sir Henry Clinton had embarked at New York about the beginning of October, to proceed up the Hudson, for the relief of and co-operation with Burgoyne. After taking several forts, burning villages, as usual, and committing other depredations, the British, hearing of the fate of their army of the north, and that Gates was marching upon them, returned with singular rapidity to New York.

Gates, after the victory, despatched Wilkinson to carry the happy tidings to Congress. On being introduced into the hall, he said: "The whole British army has laid down arms at Saratoga; our own, full of vigour and courage, expect your orders; it is for your wisdom to decide where the country

may still have need of their services." Congress voted thanks to Gates and the army, and presented him with a splendid gold medal, struck to commemorate this great victory.

A delirium of joy spread over the country. The people now looked forward with confidence for France to acknowledge our independence, and form a treaty of alliance. Commissioners from Congress had resided at the court of France for more than a year, urging the consummation so devoutly to be wished. On the 6th of February, 1778, the treaty was signed—"neither of the contracting powers to make war or peace without the formal consent of the other."

Now let every one imagine just as much shouting at every city, town, village, and country-place, when these glorious news arrive, as is consistent with his own taste; let him listen to the glowing patriot speeches, made upon the occasion, and mark the thrilling effects of them; let him rejoice in the irradiated countenances of men, women and children, whose hearts are beating with rapture; I say, let him do all this, for really we have no space left to describe *effects*, but merely the *causes* which produced them. Finding an opening here, we make a happy escape from this long campaign into

CHAPTER XIV.

Dangerous Situation of the British Army at Philadelphia—Attack on Forts Mifflin and Mercer—British repulsed—Death of Count Donop—Forts again attacked by Water and taken—Sufferings of the Americans at Valley Forge—Desertion of Part of the Americans—Plot formed to supersede Washington—Its Failure—Letter of Washington to Governor Morris, on Foreign Influence.

"Auribus teneo lupum."—*Terence.*

That is, I hold a wolf by the ears. Dangerous to retain or to quit my hold. This was Howe's situation while holding Philadelphia.

It has been stated in a preceding chapter that the British had succeeded in removing one barrier in the Delaware, but it required the most desperate efforts to remove other obstacles before Howe's army could be supplied with provisions.

A strong detachment, sent against fort Mifflin and fort Mercer, on the Delaware—the one commanded by Colonel Smith, the other by Colonel Greene—was repulsed with a loss of 400 or 500 men, among whom was Colonel Donop, their commander, who was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. The vanquished retreated to Philadelphia. An unsuccessful attack was also made by water. But considering the importance of success, very extensive operations were commenced and carried on vigorously, when the Americans, after a fierce struggle, were obliged to abandon their forts. They destroyed their shipping, amounting to seventeen of different kinds, including two floating batteries and four fire-ships. Several ships had escaped up the river in the night.

At the end of the campaign of 1777, Washington retired to *Valley Forge*, on the west side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, where he concluded to establish his winter-quarters. On their march to Valley Forge, the soldiers, being ill clothed, suffered indescribable hardships from the severity of the weather. Some dropped dead with the cold; others, without shoes, left tracks of blood upon the ice, which cut their feet. In this deplorable condition they required something more than mere tents to shelter them from the inclement season; and when they reached their place of destination, they commenced the construction of a sufficient number of log-huts, and finished them with mortar. Into these they crept, while cold and chilling blasts howled fiercely around them, and piles of drifted snow raised their summits proudly above their little habitations. Here they ponder deeply upon their country's wrongs, and their own sufferings and privations. Their thoughts go back to the quiet, peaceful, and happy scenes of *home*, and these reflections make them almost frantic. Before this, their minds were employed with the campaign; but now they have time to think of parents, brothers and sisters, or wives and children.—Are they well—are *they* sheltered from the winter—are *their* wants supplied—are they not now pronouncing our names in the agony of despair? These are feelings that sink deep into the soul, and draw tears from the eyes of the stern

warrior, who would not yield to mortal man, while in the defence of his own dear native home. And these were our fathers, who first opened the forest to the genial rays of the sun, and then hallowed the soil with freedom, dearly purchased with their toil, their treasure and their blood. May their souls rest in peace!

While the army of Washington was suffering not only from want of clothes and blankets, but actually from hunger, "a certain number, seduced by the royalists, deserted their colours and slunk off to the British army in Philadelphia; but these were mostly Europeans, who had entered the continental service. The true-born Americans, supported by their patriotism, as well as by their love and veneration for the commander-in-chief, manifested an unshaken perseverance; they chose rather to suffer all the extremes of famine and of frost, than to violate, in this perilous hour, the faith they had pledged to their country."—*Botta.*

About the same time a plot was formed to supersede the commander-in-chief. "As for us, that respect for truth which ought to be our only guide, compels us to declare that the leaders of this combination, very little concerned for the public good, were immoderately so for their own, and that the aim of all their efforts was, to advance themselves and their friends at the expense of others. Among them, and of the first rank, was General Conway, one of the most wily and restless intriguers that passed in those times from Europe into America. Declaiming and vociferating, incessantly besieging all the members of Congress with his complaints; he pretended that there existed no sort of discipline in the American army; that there were no two regiments which manœuvred alike, and not two officers in any regiment who could execute or command the military exercises; in a word, he had said and done so much, that the Congress appointed him inspector and major-general. This appointment excited loud murmurs in the camp, and the brigadier-generals remonstrated. But this man, bent on attaining his purpose, and whose audacity knew no bounds, openly spoke of the commander-in-chief in the most derogatory terms; and, as it

always happens in times of adversity, he readily found those who believed them." This plot of foreign officers, of whom Gates himself was probably not guiltless, opened the eyes of Congress as to the motives by which most of these men were actuated; and they sustained WASHINGTON. And so did the people, who threatened vengeance to Conway and others. As every American must feel a pride to know that his countrymen *suffered for American freedom*, while foreigners, with a few exceptions, were governed by different motives, we give a letter from Washington to Governor Morris, written some time after the period of which we are speaking, in which the dangerous influence of foreigners is powerfully set forth, by a man whose station and abilities amply qualified him to form a correct opinion of affairs relating to the army.

White Plains, 24th July, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—Whether you are indebted to me, or I to you, for a letter, I know not, nor is it a matter of much moment. The design of this is to touch, cursorily, upon the subject of very great importance to the well-being of these states; much more so than will appear at first view. I mean the appointment of so many foreigners to offices of high rank and trust in our service.

The lavish manner in which rank has hitherto been bestowed on these gentlemen, will certainly be productive of one or the other of these two evils:—either to make it despicable in the eyes of Europe, or become a means of pouring them in upon us like a torrent, and adding to our present burden. But it is neither the expense nor trouble of them that I most dread. There is an evil more extensive in its nature, and fatal in its consequences, to be apprehended, and that is, the driving of all our own officers out of the service, and throwing, not only our army, but our military councils, entirely into the hands of foreigners.

The officers, my dear sir, on whom you must depend for the defence of this cause, distinguished by length of service, their connections, property, and, in behalf of many, I may add, military merit, will not submit much, if any longer, to

the unnatural promotion of men over them, who have nothing more than a little plausibility, unbounded pride and ambition, and a perseverance in application not to be resisted, but by uncommon firmness, to support their pretensions; men who, in the first instance, tell you they wish for nothing more than the honour of serving in so glorious a cause as volunteers; the next day solicit rank without pay; the day following want money advanced to them; and, in the course of a week, want further promotion, and are not satisfied with any thing you can do for them.

When I speak of officers not submitting to these appointments, let me be understood to mean, that they have no more doubt of their right to resign, when they think themselves aggrieved, than they have of a power in Congress to appoint. Both being granted, then, the expediency and the policy of the measure remain to be considered, and whether it is justice or prudence to promote these military fortune-hunters, at the hazard of your army. They may be divided into three classes; namely, mere adventurers without recommendations, or recommended by persons who do not know how else to dispose of or provide for them; men of great ambition, who would sacrifice every thing to promote their own personal glory; or mere spies, who are sent here to obtain a thorough knowledge of our situation and circumstances; in the execution of which, I am persuaded, some of them are faithful emissaries, as I do not believe a single matter escapes unnoticed, or unadvised at a foreign court.

I could say a great deal on this subject, but will add no more at present. I am led to give you this trouble, at this time, by a *very handsome* certificate, shown to me yesterday, in favour of M. Neuville, written (I believe) by himself, and subscribed by General Parsons, designed, as I am informed, for a foundation of the superstructure of a brigadiership.

Baron Steuben, I now find, is also wanting to quit his inspectorship for a command in the line. This will be productive of much discontent to the brigadiers. In a word, although I think the baron an excellent officer, I do most devoutly wish we had not a single foreigner among us, except the Marquis

de Lafayette, who acts upon very different principles from those which govern the rest. Adieu.

I am most sincerely yours, &c.

This letter, although it was addressed to Mr. Morris, in his private capacity, was intended to produce an impression in Congress; and we have every reason to believe that its effect was of the most beneficial character.

Those few foreigners who fought in our revolution for the love of freedom, are the more to be admired and praised, from the fact, that it requires men of the most exalted minds to throw off the impressions which a foreign education and foreign habits produce, however erroneous; and to adopt opinions, and support principles diametrically opposite to those advocated in their own country.

CHAPTER XV.

Campaign of 1778—Operations of the British—Massacre of American Troops—Daring Exploits of American armed Vessels—Howe resigns—Succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton—Alliance of America with France—Plan of Operations of British Ministry—British evacuate Philadelphia—Pursued by Washington—Battle at Freehold—British retreat to New York.

"Now I behold the chiefs, in the pride of their former deeds! Their souls are kindled at the battles of old; at the actions of other times. Their eyes are flames of fire. They roll in search of the foes of the land. Their mighty hands are on their swords. Lightning pours from their sides of steel. They come like streams from the mountains; each rushes roaring from his hill.

"Thin thongs, bright-studded with gems, bend on the stately necks of the steeds. The steeds that like wreaths of mist fly over the streamy vales! The wildness of deer is in their course, the strength of eagles descending on their prey. Their noise is like the blasts of winter. * * *

"Morning rose. The foe were fled, like the departure of mist."

The spring of 1778 having returned, the British began to scour the country with their light troops, who, falling in with a party of Americans, one day, at the bridges of Quinton and Hancock, barbarously murdered them while crying for quar-

ters. The enemy also attempted to surprise Lafayette, encamped at Barren Hill, but the shrewd and skilful youngster baffled all their efforts.

That union of the *active* courage of the French, with the *passive* courage of the English, in the Americans, which so pre-eminently distinguished our navy in the late war, already began to manifest itself in many a *nautical* conflict. Five hundred English vessels had already been captured with very valuable cargoes; thus inflicting a severe blow upon the British commerce, one of the great resources of the nation, enabling them to continue the war. Even the coasts of Great Britain were not secure from the maritime expeditions of the bold and enterprising sons of America.

Sir William Howe had resigned his office of commander-in-chief, and returned to Europe, while Sir Henry Clinton, his successor, had arrived at Philadelphia, to take charge of the British army.

On the alliance of France with America, the British Parliament resolved to evacuate Philadelphia, the possession of which had cost them two arduous and bloody campaigns to obtain. It was apprehended that the French fleet would appear in the Delaware and endanger the British army at Philadelphia, or strike a blow at the West Indies. In either case, New York was a more eligible situation than the one now occupied, especially as the design of the British ministry was now to carry on the war in the south, after their grand scheme of the north had flitted away like a fairy vision of some golden dream, when the mind awakes to truth and soberness.

To resume our figure of the opening of the last chapter, Clinton let go the wolf, which Howe had given him to hold, and it bit him grievously, as we shall perceive.

As the fleet of Lord Howe was still in the Delaware, it was anticipated that the army would be transported by sea. Apprehensive, however, of meeting a superior French fleet, it was resolved to retreat through New Jersey.

On the morning of the 18th of June, the army proceeded to the point of land, below Philadelphia, which is formed by

the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, where Clinton and Howe had made the necessary dispositions, with the boats and vessels of the navy, for passing the river; and at ten o'clock in the forenoon the British army was encamped on the Jersey shore. The Americans entered the city of Philadelphia before the enemy were entirely out of it.

"It is a fine fox-chase, my boys!"

This exclamation of the hero of our tale, on a former occasion, has probably not yet been forgotten, and now the great huntsman prepares for a fox-chase on a grand scale. He lets slip the dogs of war, and already they are barking on the hills of New Jersey.

"Far from the tumult fled the roe,
Close in her covert cower'd the doe,
The falcon, from her cairn on high,
Cast on the rout a wondering eye,
Till, far beyond her piercing ken,
The hurricane had swept the glen.
* * * * * *
The owlets started from their dream,
The eagles answer'd with a scream."

The preparations for this retreat had been made with as much secrecy as possible, but intelligence of them was conveyed to Washington, who detached General Maxwell with a brigade into New Jersey. He also sent General Dickinson to assemble the militia of that state—to break down the bridges; to break up the roads; to fell trees, and plant them in abattis, and, by every means in their power, to harass the enemy and impede their progress, until he could bring the main army across the Delaware and fall upon their rear. Washington despatched Wayne, Cadwallader, Dickinson, and Morgan, to harass the enemy; and that they might act simultaneously, he placed them all under the command of Lafayette, while the commander-in-chief, who had left Valley Forge the same day that the British left Philadelphia, and crossed the Delaware, followed at a little distance. Morgan was hanging on the right flank like an incubus, and Dickson on the left; and, as things were now fast verging to a crisis, our

chief commander ordered General Lee, who had lately been exchanged for Prescott, to press forward with two brigades. As the senior, he took the command of the vanguard from Lafayette.

On the 27th of June, we see the enemy encamped upon the heights near Freehold court-house, in Monmouth county, sixty-four miles from Philadelphia. Seeing himself very closely pursued, General Clinton knew that a battle was inevitable, and prepared for it, by sending his baggage from the rear to the van—from the charge of Cornwallis to that of Knyphausen, while himself, with the van-guard, would keep the Americans in check, until the baggage reached the hills of Middletown, from which a retreat could be effected in safety to New York.

The following day, just before rosy-fingered Aurora opened the golden portals of the east, Knyphausen descended from the heights into a valley, about three miles long, and one mile wide, with his baggage, on his way to Middletown, while the division with which Clinton remained, did not move till near eight o'clock, so as not to press too close upon the baggage; occupying a line of march nearly twelve miles long! Soon after the rear of the enemy left the heights, the advanced corps of the American army descended impetuously into the plain, from the same heights the British had just left, to attack them. Lee, who had been ordered to make the attack, on the first charge fell back, and fled. But Washington, on hearing the firing, left baggage, *knapsacks* and all, behind, hurried to the scene, and restored the fortune of the day. His terrible reproaches fell on the ears of Lee like a death-knell, and even he made great efforts to rally his troops and retrieve his honour. Lee was not fighting for *his* country; and his conduct, upon more than one occasion, but too plainly indicated that his object was to counteract the plans of Washington, to injure his reputation, and obtain the command of the American armies himself.

But the thunderer of the scene has come; he disposes his troops in a neighbouring wood, and partly upon a hill on the left, from which Sterling poured his fiery indignation from

the cannon's mouth. The infantry were drawn up in the centre, at the foot of the hill, and in front of the enemy. Greene advanced with the right wing, but being apprized that Lee had retreated again, with the vanguard, he took a strong position on the right of Lord Sterling. Here he stands, the genius of the hill; orders his artillery to be posted, and then he roars. The next hill, and the third, and the fourth, catch the terrible sound and roar again. The enemy, finding themselves thus cruelly arrested in what they at first believed to be a victorious career, then attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but here they were repulsed by the light infantry which Washington had posted there. They now made an effort to surround the right of the Americans, but *Greene* was there, with many a brave son of America, who bid the cannon speak for freedom in deafening eloquence, which forced the British to retreat. As soon as Washington saw them give way, he ordered them to be charged *vigorously* by the infantry, under General *Wayne*. The English turned their backs, crossed the ravine, and formed anew. Night drops her sombre curtain and hides the scene. The action ceases, but the troops are kept under arms, to renew battle next morning. But, taking advantage of the night, the enemy retreated towards New York. The loss of the Americans was 8 officers and 61 privates, killed, and about 160 wounded; that of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 358 men, including officers; 100 were taken prisoners, and 1000 deserted during the retreat.

Overcome by the excessive heat, 59 British soldiers fell dead without a wound, and several Americans died from the same cause.

Washington greatly commended his troops for the valour they had displayed, and particularly General Wayne, the lightning of whose steel was a terror to his foes; and Congress voted thanks to the troops and the officers.

General Lee was arrested and brought before a court-martial, charged with disobedience to orders; for having made an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat; and for disrespect to the commander-in-chief in two letters. The court-

martial found him guilty, expunging, however, the epithet shameful, and sentenced him to be suspended for one year. Congress, with some hesitation, confirmed the sentence. Lee was a great man, but he fell a victim to his ambition, and was suffered to die, in comparative obscurity, by the American people. It should, however, in justice to General Lee, be stated that he had some able defenders, who believed that his punishment was a hardship, and that he fell a victim to his ungovernable *temper* rather than to any ambitious designs.

On the 1st of July, Washington marched his army towards the Hudson, to secure the passages of the mountains, leaving, however, some detachments of light troops in New Jersey to repress the incursions of the enemy, and to pick up deserters.

On the 30th of June the British army had arrived at Middletown, not far from Sandy Hook. The fleet of Howe, from the Delaware, was there, ready to receive it. Sandy Hook had hitherto been a peninsula, but the preceding winter, a violent storm and inundation had disjoined it from the main land, and converted it into an island. A bridge of boats was constructed over this new strait, and the army passed to Sandy Hook island, whence it was conveyed by the fleet to New York.

For a time the Americans had been compelled to retreat before superior numbers, but, like a stream turned back upon itself, they had gathered strength, and at last they came like a mighty flood, and swept the enemy to the sea.

Having made no progress in the American war, the king and his ministers had occasion to pray for being defended

> "From reveries so airy, from the toil
> Of dropping buckets into empty wells,
> And growing old in drawing nothing up!"

And should any marvel at their ill success, while we have our finger in the button-hole of Cowper's coat, we ask him for another quotation, to remove the difficulty, and close this chapter.

> "Whose freedom is by sufferance, and at will
> Of a superior, he is never free.

Who lives, and is not weary of a life
Exposed to manacles, deserves them well.
The state that strives for liberty, though foil'd,
And forced to abandon what she bravely sought,
Deserves at least applause for her attempt,
And pity for her loss. *But that's a cause*
Not often unsuccessful: power usurp'd
Is weakness, when opposed; conscious of wrong,
'Tis pusillanimous and prone to flight.
But slaves that once conceive the glowing thought
Of freedom, *in that hope itself possess*
All that the contest calls for; spirit, strength,
The scorn of danger, and united hearts;
The surest presage of the good they seek."

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of Count D'Estaing—Attack by the French Fleet on Newport—Admiral Lord Howe sails to its Defence—Both Fleets dispersed by a Storm—D'Estaing sails for Boston—American Forces abandon the Enterprise, and retreat—British pursue them—Battle at Quaker Hill—Enemy repulsed—General Clinton arrives for Relief of Newport—Returns to New York.

"List, ye landsmen, all to me."

On the 8th of July, a short time after Lord Howe left the Delaware, the Count D'Estaing, having arrived from France, entered the mouth of the river with a powerful armament, to co-operate with the American army, to destroy both the British army and fleet. Having received intelligence that the enemy was gone, the count put to sea anew, and on the 11th appeared at Sandy Hook, in sight of the British squadron; but, apprehensive that his large ships would not pass over the bar, in the mouth of the bay of New York, he withdrew to the coast of New Jersey, about four miles from Sandy Hook, where he concerted an expedition, with the American generals, against Rhode Island, which had been in possession of the British since December, 1776.

The fleet of D'Estaing consisted of twelve ships of the line; two of eighty guns, six of seventy-four, and four large frigates. After leaving Howe, with an inferior naval force,

for some time in constant apprehension of being attacked, he sailed for Newport, Rhode Island, to act in concert with troops, under General Sullivan, destined for the expedition. The militia of New England were assembled; General Greene was sent to Rhode Island, his native state, to arouse the inhabitants; and an army of 10,000 men was soon ready to attack Newport by land.

In the meantime, General Pigot, who commanded in Rhode Island, was reinforced from New York. His garrison now amounted to 6000 men. The part of the town towards the sea was fortified with great expedition; several vessels of transport were sunk, to obstruct the approaches to the important batteries; while others were burned, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French.

On the 29th of July, Count D'Estaing anchored about five miles from Newport. General Sullivan not having received all the militia he expected, a delay of some days was occasioned; but, on the 8th of August, the preparations being completed, and the wind favourable, the French squadron entered the harbour of Newport, discharged its broadsides, and received the enemy's fire from their batteries on shore, without much effect on either side. The next day, signals announced the approach of the whole British squadron, under Lord Howe, which, though reinforced, was still inferior to that of the French. The defence of the narrow entrance of the harbour, however, was so formidable, that Howe concluded that it was impossible for him to afford any aid to the besieged army. Every thing promised success to the allies, when Count D'Estaing, whose heart, like Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, was heated seven times hotter than it was wont to be heated, on seeing a British fleet, sailed out of the harbour to attack it. The French admiral having the weather-gage, Howe declined coming to action, and both fleets manœuvred all day—the one to gain, and the other to retain that advantage. On the 11th, the wind still being unfavourable, Howe resolved, notwithstanding, to meet the French. The fleets were disposed in order of battle, ready to commence a close action, when a violent storm arose, which not only separated

the two fleets, but dispersed the ships of each, and almost tore them to pieces. The

"——— glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form
Glasses itself in tempests,"

began to heave its bosom like a thing of life, and the waves resumed their sway over the wide waste of waters, and the winds were heard in the distance. The cries of the sailors, the flapping of the sails, the whistling and moaning of the blasts, conspire to make every thing appear dismal in the extreme. You look above, and all is dark and fearful—the clouds roll in swift and heavy masses along the concave, and the sailor, clinging to the sails as he binds them to the quivering yards, seems every moment ready to be shaken from his hold. The waves now swell into billows, threatening to invade the sky. You look around, but the frightfulness of the scene is increased. The dark clouds give an appearance to the sea black as ink. The immense billows, tumbling with a jar against the vessel's side, and with a crash floating over the deck; the staggering, plunging, and rolling motion of the vessel, every moment seeming as if it would drink in the waters and sink; all are alike fearful and sublime.

The mountain billows are now sweeping around and over us in fearful rapidity, and dashing against the vessel with foaming fury, while the spray begins to fly from her bows, like the foam of a great cataract.

Darkness comes over the scene, and reigns in fearful majesty. The portentous screeching of the sea-birds adds terror to the scene. The rage and fury of the storm increases; the ships are hurled with an appalling velocity through the foaming spray; the rattling of the blocks overhead is blended with the voices of the commanders and sailors; the sails are torn from the ropes and scattered in fragments, the sport of the winds. To these terrors are added the increased roaring and bellowing of the waves, and the howling of the tempestuous winds, like the roaring and howling of ten thousand wild beasts, mingled with the dreadful voices of some mighty spirits ruling the deep. The rain, the hail, the glare of lightning, displaying the flashing crests of foam, and the crashing

peals of thunder, which as the rage of the tempest increases, are heard no more amid the terrible din of the sea, roaring louder than thunder, form a scene, the grandeur and awful sublimity of which no language can paint.

Heaven and earth seem to be at war; the elements of the sky threaten destruction to the sea, and the sea is hurling foaming mountains at the sky. The vessel is borne aloft by one of those mountains of water, lit up by the lightning's glare, which soon break into masses of living fire, revealing all the vast commotion of the elements, startling the mind with terror, astonishment, and admiration—then all is veiled in darkness again. The vessel trembles for a moment upon a fearful height, then plunges down—down into a frightful chasm, in which, for a time, she appears to be engulfed, but, like some huge monster of the deep, she labours, and groans, and leaps upon the billows again. The storm increases. See how the Alpine mountains of water roll on; now we are rising higher and higher, and then again we plunge into a great valley, and the mountains threaten to close over our heads. The masts, with portions of sails torn into ribbons, now come down like an avalanche; the helm is abandoned, and we are hurried on, the sport of the winds and the waves.

Such was the storm that dispersed the two fleets, all except the *thunder*, which we put in to fill up the picture, as we once had the pleasure to witness it, in a thunder-storm, near the banks of Newfoundland.

However extravagant the description of this storm may appear to those who have not seen a storm at sea, it will soon appear that we have not exaggerated.

The tempest, which had lasted for forty-eight hours, damaged the ships of both fleets so much, that they were compelled to put into port to repair. The French admiral's ship, the Languedoc, one of the largest vessels, lost her rudder and all her masts, and floated entirely at the mercy of the winds and the currents. In this plight, she fell in with an English vessel of the scattered fleet, of only fifty guns, but less damaged. A vigorous attack was made upon the wreck, which would have been captured but for the approach of night. The

following morning a number of French vessels appeared, and gave the British captain chase, without being able to come up with him. The same day another English vessel fell in with a French ship, with only her mainmast standing. They were also separated by the coming of night, and the appearance of several French ships, the next morning, caused the enemy to withdraw. The British vessels returned to Sandy Hook and New York, and the French to the harbour of Newport.

Here Count d'Estaing soon informed General Sullivan that his intentions were to sail to Boston, to repair his injuries, according to his instructions, which were, that if he should meet with any disaster, or if a superior fleet should appear on the coast, he should sail for that port. The late storm, and the approach of Admiral Byron with reinforcements, from England, induced him to take this resolution.

Generals Greene and Lafayette, convinced that his departure would be the ruin of the expedition, made every possible effort to persuade the Count to remain: but all was fruitless. He got under sail on the 22d of August, and was soon anchored in the harbour of Boston.

Finding themselves deserted by their allies, the militia disbanded, until the American army, in Rhode Island, was reduced from 10,000 men to about half that number. The American generals found it necessary to retreat. They were closely pursued by the British and Hessians, who coming up in great force, in the environs of Quaker Hill, a hot contest ensued, in which many fell on both sides, but the enemy were at length repulsed.

The day after the retreat, General Clinton arrived with 4000 men, and a light squadron, for the relief of Newport. Finding the place secure, he returned to New York.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dreadful Barbarities committed by the Indians—Massacre of Wyoming.

"They fell, like the young oaks which stood alone on the hill. The traveller saw the lovely trees, and wondered how they grew so lonely. The blast of the desert came and laid their green heads low. Next day he returned; but they were withered, and the heath was bare."—*Ossian.*

The savages took a more active part than ever in the campaign of this year. Though they had been intimidated by the success of General Gates, and had sent him congratulations for himself and the United States, the intrigues and presents of the British agents had not lost their power over them. Moreover, the emigrant colonists, who had retired among these barbarians, excited them continually by instigations, which, together with their natural thirst for blood and pillage, determined them, without scruple, to make incursions upon the northern frontiers, where they spread terror and desolation. The most ruthless chiefs that guided them in these sanguinary expeditions, were Colonel Butler, who had already signalized himself in this war, and a certain Brandt, born of mixed blood, the most ferocious being ever produced by human nature, often too prodigal of similar monsters. They spared neither age, nor sex, nor condition, nor even their own kindred; everywhere, indiscriminately, they carried devastation and death. The knowledge which the refugees had of the country, and the insulated position of the habitations, scattered here and there in the wilderness; the distance from the seat of government, and the necessity of employing the national force in other remote parts, offered the Indians every facility for executing their enterprises, and retiring with impunity. No means had hitherto been found of repressing the inroads of so cruel an enemy.

But, in the midst of this general devastation, there happened an event which, perhaps, would be found without example in the history of inhuman men. Inhabitants of Con-

necticut had planted, on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, towards the extremity of Pennsylvania, and upon the road of Oswego, the settlement of Wyoming. Populous and flourishing, its prosperity was the subject of admiration. It consisted of eight townships, each containing a square of five miles, beautifully situated on both sides of the river. The mildness of the climate answered to the fertility of the soil. The inhabitants were strangers alike to excessive wealth, which elates and depraves, and to poverty, which discourages and degrades. All lived in a happy mediocrity, frugal of their own, and coveting nothing from others. Incessantly occupied in rural toils, they avoided idleness, and all the vices of which it is the source. In a word, this little country presented in reality the image of those fabulous times which the poets have described under the name of the *Golden Age*. But their domestic felicity was no counterpoise to the zeal with which they were animated for the common cause; they took up arms and flew to succour their country. It is said they had furnished to the army no less than a thousand soldiers, a number truly prodigious for so feeble a population, and so happy in their homes. Yet, notwithstanding the drain of all this vigorous youth, the abundance of harvests sustained no diminution. Their crowded granaries, and pastures replenished with fat cattle, offered an exhaustless resource to the American army.

"But neither so many advantages, nor even the retired situation of these unfortunate colonists, could exempt them from the baneful influence of party spirit. Although the tories, as they called them, were not so numerous as the partizans of liberty, yet they challenged attention by the arrogance of their character and the extent of their pretensions. Hence, not only families were seen armed against families, but even sons aided against their fathers; brothers against brothers, and, at last, wives against husbands. The tories were exasperated at their losses in the incursions they had made in company with the savages in the preceding campaigns; but that which envenomed them the most was, that several individuals of the same party, who, having quitted their habita-

tions, were come to claim hospitality, then so much in honour among the Americans, and particularly at Wyoming, had been arrested as suspected persons, and sent to take their trial in Connecticut. Others had been expelled from the colony. Thus hatred became continually more and more rancorous. The tories swore revenge; they coalesced with the Indians. The time was favourable, as the youth of Wyoming were with the army. In order the better to secure success, and to surprise their enemies before they should think of standing upon their defence, they resorted to artifice. They pretended the most friendly dispositions, while they meditated only war and vengeance.

"A few weeks before they purposed to execute their horrible enterprise, they sent several messengers, charged with protestations of their earnest desire to cultivate peace. These perfidies lulled the inhabitants of Wyoming into a deceitful security, while they procured the tories and savages the means of concerting with their partisans, and of observing the immediate state of the colony. Notwithstanding the solemn assurances of the Indians, the colonists, as it often happens when great calamities are about to fall on a people, seemed to have a presentiment of their approaching fate. [This is mere slang—their fears arising from opinion.] They wrote to Washington, praying him to send them immediate aid. Their despatches did not reach him; they were intercepted by the Pennsylvania loyalists; and they would, besides, have arrived too late. The savages had already made their appearance upon the frontiers of the colony; the plunder they had made there was of little importance, but the cruelties they had perpetrated were affrightful; the mournful prelude of those more terrible scenes which were shortly to follow!

"About the commencement of the month of July, the Indians suddenly appeared in force upon the banks of the Susquehanna. They were headed by the John Butler and Brandt already named, with other chiefs of their nation, distinguished by their extreme ferocity in the preceding expeditions. This troop amounted in all to 1600 men, of whom no less than a fourth were Indians, and the rest tories, disguised and painted

to resemble them. The officers, however, wore the uniforms of their rank, and had the appearance of regulars. The colonists of Wyoming, finding their friends so remote, and their enemies so near, had constructed for their security four forts, in which, and upon different points of the frontier, they had distributed about 500 men. The whole colony was placed under the command of Zebulon Butler, cousin of John, a man who, with some courage, was totally devoid of capacity. He was even accused of treachery; but this imputation is not proved. It is at least certain, that one of the forts which stood nearest to the frontier, was intrusted to soldiers infected with the opinions of the tories, and who gave it up, without resistance, at the first approach of the enemy. The second, on being vigorously assaulted, surrendered at discretion. The savages spared, it is true, the women and children, but butchered all the rest, without exception. Zebulon withdrew, with all his people, into the principal fort, called Kingston. The old men, the women, the children, in a word, all that were unable to bear arms, repaired thither in throngs, and uttering lamentable cries, as to the last refuge where any hope of safety remained. The position was susceptible of defence; and if Zebulon had held firm, he might have hoped to withstand the enemy until the arrival of succours. But John Butler was lavish of promises, in order to draw him out, in which he succeeded, by persuading him that if he would consent to a parley in the open field, the siege would soon be raised, and every thing accommodated. John retired, in fact, with all his corps: Zebulon afterwards marched out to the place appointed for the conference, at a considerable distance from the fort; from motives of caution, he took with him 400 men, well armed, being nearly the whole strength of his garrison. If this step was not dictated by treachery, it must, at least, be attributed to a very strange simplicity. Having come to the spot agreed on, Zebulon found no living being there. Reluctant to return without an interview, he advanced towards the foot of a mountain, at a still greater distance from the fort, hoping he might there find some person to confer with. The further he proceeded in this dismal soli-

tude, the more he had occasion to remark that no token appeared of the presence or vicinity of human creatures. But far from halting, as if impelled by an irresistible destiny, [or unmitigated stupidity,] he continued his march. The country, meanwhile, began to be overshadowed by thick forests: at length, in a winding path, he perceived a flag, which seemed to wave him on. The individual who bore it, as if afraid of treachery from his side, retired as he advanced, still making the same signals. But already the Indians, who knew the country, profiting of the obscurity of the woods, had completely surrounded him. The unfortunate American, without suspicion of the peril he was in, continued to press forward, in order to assure the traitors that he would not betray them. He was awakened but too soon from this dream of security; in an instant the savages sprung from their ambush, and fell upon him with hideous yells.

"He formed his little troop into a compact column, and showed more presence of mind in danger than he had manifested in the negotiation. Though surprised, the Americans exhibited such vigour and resolution that the advantage was rather on their side, when a soldier, either through treachery or cowardice, cried out aloud, "*The colonel has ordered a retreat.*" The Americans immediately break, the savages leap in among the ranks, and a horrible carnage ensues. The fugitives fall by missiles, the resisting by clubs and tomahawks. The wounded overturn those that are not; the dead and the dying are heaped together promiscuously. Happy those who expire the soonest! The savages reserve the living for tortures! and the infuriate tories, if other arms fail them, mangle the prisoners with their nails! Never was rout so deplorable; never was massacre accompanied with so many horrors. Nearly all the Americans perished; about sixty escaped from the butchery, and, with Zebulon, made their way good to a redoubt upon the other bank of the Susquehanna.

"The conquerors invested Kingston anew, and, to dismay the relics of the garrison by the most execrable spectacle, *they hurled into the place above two hundred scalps, still reek-*

ing with blood, of their slaughtered brethren. Colonel Dennison, who commanded the fort, seeing the impossibility of defence, sent out a flag to inquire of Butler what terms would be allowed the garrison, on surrendering the fort? He answered, with all the fellness of his inhuman character, in a single word—the *hatchet.* Reduced to this dreadful extremity, the colonel still made what resistance he could. At length, having lost almost all his soldiers, he surrendered at discretion. The savages entered the fort, and began to drag out the vanquished, who, knowing the hands they were in, expected no mercy. But, impatient of the tedious process of murder in detail, the barbarians afterwards bethought themselves of enclosing the men, women and children promiscuously in the houses and barracks, to which they set fire and consumed all within, listening, delighted, to the moans and shrieks of the expiring multitude.

"The fort of Wilkesbarre still remained in the power of the colonists of Wyoming. The victors presented themselves before it; those within, hoping to find mercy, surrendered at discretion, and without resistance. But if opposition exasperated these ferocious men, or rather these tigers, insatiable of human blood, submission did not soften them. Their rage was principally exercised upon the soldiers of the garrison, all of whom they put to death, with a barbarity ingenious in tortures. As for the rest, men, women, and children, who appeared to them not to merit any special attention, they burned them as before, in the houses and barracks. The forts being fallen into their hands, the barbarians proceeded, without obstacle, to the devastation of the country. They employed at once, fire, sword, and all instruments of destruction. The crops of every description were consigned to the flames. The habitations, granaries, and other constructions, the fruit of years of human industry, sunk in ruin under the destructive strokes of these cannibals. But who will believe that their fury, not yet satiated upon human creatures, was also wreaked upon the very beasts? That they cut out the tongues of the horses and cattle, and left them to wander in the midst of those fields lately so luxuriant, and now in deso-

lation, seeming to enjoy the torments of their lingering death?

"We have long hesitated whether we ought to relate particular instances of this demoniac cruelty; the bare remembrance of them makes us shudder. But on reflecting that these examples may deter good [rulers] from war, and citizens from civil discord, we have deemed it useful to record them. Captain Bedlock having been stripped naked, the savages stuck sharp pine splinters into all parts of his body; and then a heap of knots of the same wood being piled round him, the whole was set on fire, and his two companions, the Captains Ranson and Durgee, thrown alive into the flames. *The tories appeared to vie with, and even to surpass, the savages in barbarity.* One of them, whose mother had married a second husband, butchered her with his own hand, and afterwards massacred his father-in-law, his own sisters, and their infants in the cradle. Another killed his own father, and exterminated all his family. A third imbrued his hands in the blood of his brothers, his sisters, his brother-in-law, and his father-in-law.

"These were a part only of the horrors perpetrated by the loyalists and Indians, at the excision of Wyoming. Other atrocities, if possible, still more abominable, we leave in silence.

"Those who had survived the massacres were no less worthy of commiseration; they were women and children, who had escaped to the woods at the time their husbands and fathers expired under the blows of the barbarians. Dispersed and wandering in the forests, as chance and fear directed their steps, without clothes, without food, without guide, these defenceless fugitives suffered every degree of distress. Several of the women were delivered alone in the woods, at a great distance from every possibility of relief. The most robust and resolute alone escaped; the others perished; their bodies and those of their hapless infants became the prey of wild beasts. Thus the most flourishing colony then existing in America was totally erased.

"The destruction of Wyoming, and the cruelties which

accompanied it, filled all the inhabitants of America with horror, with compassion, and with indignant fury. They fully purposed, on a future day, to exact a condign vengeance; but in the present state of the war, it was not in their power to execute their intent immediately."

The day of retribution came, and the savages felt the fire and sword of a people whom their outrages had inspired with unrelenting fury, almost as savage as their own.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Campaign once more opened in the South—Savannah taken by the British—D'Estaing arrives on the coast of Georgia—Attack on Savannah by the combined American and French Forces—They are repulsed—D'Estaing sails for France—Daring Enterprise executed by Colonel John White.

"Wo for the land thou tramplest o'er,
Death-dealing fiend of war!"

The south, which had been exempt from hostile operations ever since the enemy made the unsuccessful attempt upon Charleston, was destined once more to become the theatre of war. Georgia being the weakest state in the south, prudence dictated to an enemy, becoming rather cautious, to make that the first point of attack. In November, Colonel Campbell was despatched from New York, by Clinton, with 2500 men, against Savannah, which fell into the hands of the enemy, together with the state itself, after a short resistance made by the American General Howe, with a force consisting of only 600 continentals and a few hundred militia.

In the succeeding year, an attempt was made to recover Savannah. Count D'Estaing, who had sailed to the West Indies, to strike at the British power there, returned to co-operate with the Americans. In September, 1779, he arrived so unexpectedly upon the coast of Georgia, that a British vessel of fifty guns, and three frigates, fell into his hands. General Lincoln, who had been appointed by Congress to take charge of the army of the south, on receiving intelligence that D'Estaing had arrived, marched to co-operate

with him. Before the arrival of Lincoln, the Count had demanded the surrender of the town. General Prevost, the English commander, requested a day to consider upon the matter, which was very imprudently granted. A reinforcement arrived, and the enemy bid defiance to the Count. On the arrival of Lincoln, preparations were made for a siege. At length an assault was made by D'Estaing and Lincoln, in which they suffered so severely, that the siege was raised, and the count re-embarked and left America.

"While the siege of Savannah was pending, one of the most extraordinary enterprises ever related in history, one, indeed, which nothing but the respectability of the testimony could have prevented our considering as marvellous, occurred. It was an enterprise conceived and executed by Colonel John White, of the Georgia line. A Captain French, of Delancey's first battalion, was posted, with 100 men, British regulars, on the Ogeechee river, about twenty-five miles from Savannah. There lay also, at the same place, five armed vessels, the largest mounting fourteen guns, and having on board, altogether, forty-one men. Colonel White, with Captain Etholm, three soldiers, and his own servant, approached this post on the evening of the 30th of September, kindled a number of fires, arranging them in the manner of a large camp, and summoned French to surrender; he and his comrades riding about in various directions, and giving orders in a loud voice, as if performing the duties of the staff to a large army. French, not doubting the reality of what he saw, and anxious to spare the effusion of blood, which a contest with a force so superior would produce, surrendered the whole detachment, together with the crews of the five vessels, amounting, in all, to 141 men, and 130 stand of arms!

"Colonel White had still, however, a very difficult game to play; it was necessary to keep up the delusion of Captain French until the prisoners should be secured; and, with this view, he pretended that the animosity of his troops was so ungovernable, that a little stratagem would be necessary to save the prisoners from their fury, and that he should, therefore, commit them to the care of three guides, with orders to

conduct them to a place of safety. With many thanks for the Colonel's humanity, French accepted the proposition, and marched off at a quick pace, under the direction of the three guides, fearful, at every step, that the rage of White's troops would burst upon them, in defiance of his humane attempts to restrain them. White, as soon as they were out of sight, employed himself in collecting the militia of the neighbourhood, with whom he overtook his prisoners, and they were conducted, in safety, for twenty-five miles, to an American fort."—*Allen.*

CHAPTER XIX.

Shameful Outrages of the British—Piratical Expedition against Virginia—Devastation of the Country—Expedition against Connecticut—New Haven plundered—Fairfield, Norwalk, and Greenland burned—Horrid Brutalities committed by the British Troops—Putnam attacked by Governor Tryon—Wonderful Escape of Putnam.

"O pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,
That I am meek and gentle with these butchers."

UNABLE to subdue the American armies, the British now commenced a shameful war upon the peaceful inhabitants, and began to lay waste a country they could not conquer.

One of these piratical expeditions was directed against Virginia, where their course was marked by cruelty and devastation; burning everything they could not carry away, until the country, as far as they proceeded, was converted into one vast scene of smoking ruins.

A similar expedition was projected against the ports of Connecticut. This was placed under the command of Governor Tryon. After plundering New Haven, he proceeded to Fairfield, Norwalk, and Greenland, which he committed to the flames.

"In an account of the devastations made by the English in this expedition, which was transmitted to Congress, it appeared that at Fairfield there were burnt two houses of public worship, fifteen dwelling-houses, eleven barns, and several

stores. At Norwalk, two houses of public worship, eighty dwelling-houses, seventy-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills and five vessels. In addition to this wanton destruction of property, various were the acts of brutality, rapine, and cruelty, committed on aged persons, women, and prisoners. At New Haven, an aged citizen, who laboured under a natural inability of speech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. At Fairfield, the deserted houses of the inhabitants were entered; desks, trunks, closets, and chests, were broken open and robbed of everything valuable. Women were insulted, abused, and threatened, while their apparel was taken from them. Even an infant was robbed of its clothes, while a bayonet was pointed at the breast of its mother.

"About this time General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable force at Reading, in Connecticut, then on a visit to his outpost, at Horse Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon with 1500 men. Putnam had only a picket of 150 men, and two field-pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, placed his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and continued to pour in upon the advancing foe, until the enemy's horse appeared upon a charge. The general now hastily ordered his men to retreat to a neighbouring swamp, inaccessible to horse, while he himself put spurs to his steed, and plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly *one hundred stone steps*, for the accommodation of worshippers ascending to the sanctuary. On the arrival of the dragoons at the brow of the hill, they paused, thinking it too dangerous to follow the steps of the adventurous hero. Before any could go round the hill and descend, Putnam had escaped, uninjured by the many balls which were fired at him in his descent; but one touched him, and that only passed through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, where, having strengthened his picket with some militia, he boldly faced about and pursued Governor Tryon on his return."

CHAPTER XX.

Storming of Stony Point.

"His brandish'd sword did blind men with its beams;
His arms spread wider than a dragon's wings:
His sparkling eyes, replete with awful fire,
More dazzled, and drove back his enemies,
Than mid-day sun fierce bent against their faces.
What should I say? His deeds exceed all speech:
He ne'er lift up his hand but conquer'd."

The suffering inhabitants in various parts of the country called loudly upon Washington for troops to defend them; but he still kept his army concentrated on both banks of the Hudson, at some distance from New York, to prevent the enemy from taking West Point, a place of great importance, situated sixty miles above New York.

While the enemy were engaged in a predatory warfare, an expedition was planned and executed, which, in boldness and intrepidity, was not exceeded by any enterprise in the history of our wars. This was the storming of Stony Point, forty miles north of New York, on the Hudson.

"The English had laboured with such industry in finishing the works at Stony Point, that they had already reduced that rock to the condition of a real fortress. They had furnished it with a numerous and selected garrison. The stores were abundant; the defensive preparations formidable. These considerations could not, however, discourage Washington from forming the design to surprise the fort. He charged General Wayne with the attack, whom he provided with a strong detachment of the most enterprising and veteran infantry in all his army.

"These troops set out on their expedition on the 15th of July, and, having accomplished their march over high mountains, through deep morasses, difficult defiles, and roads exceedingly bad and narrow, arrived about eight o'clock in the evening within a mile of Stony Point. General Wayne then

halted to reconnoitre the works, and to observe the situation of the garrison. The English, however, did not perceive him. He formed his corps in two columns, and put himself at the head of the right. It was preceded by a vanguard of 150 picked men, commanded by that brave and adventurous Frenchman, Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury. This vanguard was itself guided by a forlorn hope of about 20, led by Lieutenant Gibbon. The column on the left, conducted by Major Stewart, had a similar vanguard, also preceded by a forlorn hope under Lieutenant Knox. These forlorn hopes, among other offices, were particularly intended to remove the abattis and other obstructions, which lay in the way of the succeeding troops. General Wayne directed both columns to march in order and silence, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. At midnight they arrived under the walls of the fort. The two columns attacked upon the flanks, while Major Murfee engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. An unexpected obstacle presented itself; the deep morass which covered the works was at this time overflowed by the tide. The English opened a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot; but neither the inundated morass, nor a double palisade, nor the bastioned ramparts, nor the storm of fire that was poured from them, could arrest the impetuosity of the Americans; they opened their way with the bayonet, prostrated whatever opposed them, scaled the fort, and the two columns met in the centre of the works. General Wayne received a contusion in the head, by a musket-ball, as he passed the last abattis; Colonel Fleury struck with his own hand the royal standard that waved upon the walls. Of the forlorn hope of Gibbon, 17 out of the 20 perished in the attack. The English lost upwards of 600 men in killed and prisoners. The conquerors abstained from pillage and from all disorder; a conduct the more worthy to be commended, as they had still present in mind the ravages and butcheries which their enemies had so recently committed in Carolina, in Connecticut, and in Virginia. Humanity imparted new effulgence to the victory which valour had obtained."

"But Hudson still, with his interior tide,
Laves a rude rock that bears Britannia's pride,
Swells round the headland with indignant roar,
And mocks her thunders from his murmuring shore;
When a firm cohort starts from Peekskill plain,
To crush the invaders and the post regain.
Here, gallant Hull, again thy sword is tried,
Meigs, Fleury, Butler, labouring side by side:
Wayne takes the guidance, culls the vigorous band,
Strikes out the flint, and bids the nervous hand
Trust the mute bayonet and midnight skies,
To stretch o'er craggy walls the dark surprise.
With axes, handspikes on the shoulder hung,
And the sly watchword, whisper'd from the tongue,
Through different paths the silent march they take,
Plunge, climb the ditch, the palisado break,
Secure each sentinel, each picket shun,
Grope the dim postern where the by-ways run.
Soon the roused garrison perceives its plight;
Small time to rally and no means of flight,
They spring, confused, to every post they know,
Point their poised cannon where they hear the foe,
Streak the dark welkin with the flames they pour,
And rock the mountain with convulsive roar.
The swift assailants still no fire return,
But, toward the batteries that above them burn,
Climb hard from crag to crag; and, scaling higher,
They pierce the long, dense canopy of fire
That sheeted all the sky; then rush amain,
Storm every outwork, each dread summit gain,
Hew timber'd gates, the sullen drawbridge fall,
File through, and form within the sounding wall.
The Britons strike their flag, the fort forego,
Descend, sad prisoners, to the plain below.
A thousand veterans, ere the morning rose,
Received their handcuffs from five hundred foes;
And Stony Point beheld, with dawning day,
His own starr'd standard on his ramparts play."

CHAPTER XXI.

Operations against the Indians.

"——————— Since brevity is the soul of wit,
And tediousness the limbs and outward flourishes,
I will be brief."

The period had now arrived to chastise the Indians for the fiendish outrages they had committed. General Sullivan, with between 4000 and 5000 men, marched up the Susquehanna and attacked the savages in well-constructed fortifications. They made a fierce resistance, but, being overpowered, they fled like a herd of buffaloes. Sullivan, according to his instructions, laid waste their country. He burned forty villages and destroyed 160,000 bushels of corn.

CHAPTER XXII.

Campaign of 1779—Inactivity of both Parties—Pecuniary Difficulties of the American Government—Sir Henry Clinton despatches an Expedition against Charleston—Furious Assault on the Town—Lincoln refuses to surrender—Assault renewed—Capitulation—Operations of General Wadsworth in the North—Surprised and taken Prisoner—Wonderful Escape and subsequent Adventures of General Wadsworth and Major Burton.

"Observe yon tree in your neighbour's garden," said Zanoni to Viola. "Look how it grows up. * * * Some wind scattered the germ, from which it sprung, in the clefts of the rocks; choked up and walled round by crags and buildings, by nature and by man, its life has been one struggle for the light; light, which makes to that life the necessity and the principle. You see how it has writhed and twisted; how, meeting with barriers in one spot, it has laboured and worked, stem and branches, towards the clear skies at last. * * * Why are its leaves as green and as fair as the vine behind you, which, with all its arms, can embrace the open sunshine? * * Because of the very instinct that impelled the struggle; because the labour for the light won to the light at length. So with a *gallant heart*, through every adverse accident of sorrow and of fate to turn to the sun, to strive for the heaven; that it is that gives knowledge to the strong and happiness

to the weak. *Ere we meet again, you will turn sad and heavy eyes to those quiet boughs;* and, when you hear the birds sing from them, and see the sunshine come slant from crag and house-top, to be the playfellow of their leaves, learn the lesson that nature teaches you, *and strive through darkness to light!*"

THE year 1779 was distinguished for the feeble exertions of both parties. Count D'Estaing, though unsuccessful on the American coast, had kept the British in check with his powerful fleet, and, in his visit to the West Indies, where he captured two islands, actually drew the British fleet after him.

The activity of the Americans was lessened, partly by the disappointment occasioned by the failure of the French fleet, and partly by the depreciation of their paper currency. Loans were difficult to negotiate, from the uncertainty of the issue of the war, and taxation was rather a dangerous experiment, at this period, for very obvious reasons.

After receiving certain information of the departure of D'Estaing, Sir Henry Clinton set on foot an expedition for the reduction of Charleston, South Carolina. Committing the garrison of New York to General Knyphausen, he embarked with a force of between 7000 and 8000 men, on the 26th of December. A violent tempest arose, which dispersed the whole fleet, and damaged most of the vessels. About the end of January, 1780, the ships arrived at Tybee, in Georgia, the appointed place of rendezvous, like scattered wild geese, with ruffled plumage. Some of their vessels were intercepted by the Americans. One transport foundered with all its lading; the *horses* on board nearly all perished. The dispersed troops having re-assembled in Georgia, their injuries were repaired by the troops of Savannah; and, on the 10th of February, they set sail from Tybee to North Edisto, a river which empties itself into the sea near the Isle of St. John, upon the coast of South Carolina. On this island the troops were disembarked, about thirty miles from Charleston. Part of the fleet was now sent round to block up the harbour of Charleston by sea, while the troops advanced through the country, passing from John's to James's Island; and thence

over Wappoo Cut to the main land, and proceeded to Ashley river, opposite Charleston. On the 29th of March, they began to cross the river, and were soon landed on Charleston Neck, twelve miles above the town.

In the meantime, General Lincoln and John Rutledge, governor of the state, made great preparations to defend the city. The fortifications were pushed with indefatigable industry. A chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, soon extended from Ashley to Cooper river, upon which were mounted upwards of eighty pieces of cannon and mortars. In front of the line they dug a canal, and filled it with water. In front of either flank, the works were covered by swamps, forming natural impediments, where the artificial ended. Between these impediments and the works, were two rows of abattis, the trees being buried slanting in the earth, with their heads outwards, and these works were further secured by a double-picketed ditch. In the centre, where the natural defences were not equal to those of the flanks, was a horn-work of masonry, forming a kind of citadel. This was the only side on which the city could be approached by land; but towards the water, the Americans had numerous batteries, covered with artillery, to prevent the approach of ships.

The enemy, who, in crossing the Ashley river, had cut off all communication, by land, from the Americans, now approached the town, and on the night of the 1st of April, they broke ground within 800 yards of the American works; and in another week their guns were mounted in battery. Taking advantage of the wind and tide, Admiral Arbuthnot passed fort Moultrie, under press of sail, and took his station within cannon-shot of Charleston. Colonel Pinckney, with a respectable force, had opened all his artillery upon the British vessels as they passed the fort; but, so rapid was their passage, that they sustained but little damage. Thus invested by sea and land, Lincoln was summoned to surrender. The fatal consequences of a cannonade and storm were held out in the summons; and the present as the only favourable opportunity to preserve the lives and property of the inhabitants. Lincoln answered:—"Sixty days have passed since it has been known

that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity."

The batteries of the first parallel were now opened upon the town, and the Americans answered in a most spirited manner. A second parallel was completed, nearer than the first, and furnished with batteries; and, at last, a third, close to the American works. Prepared to commence the bombardment of the town, Clinton again summoned Lincoln to surrender. A negotiation was opened, but the English commander insisted that the town should surrender at discretion; agreeing to nothing further, as to private property, than that it should be preserved from pillage; while the American commander required not only that the citizens and militia should be free with respect to their persons, but that they should also be permitted to sell their property, and retire with the proceeds wherever they might see fit. The conferences were broken off, and hostilities recommenced.

The American fortifications were now battered down with the heavy artillery of the enemy; the town was overwhelmed with bombs and carcasses, and the flames began to spread on every side.

"The bold beleaguer'd post the hero gains,
And the hard siege with various fate sustains;
Cornwallis, towering at the British van,
In these fierce toils his wild career began;
He mounts the forky streams, and soon bestrides
The narrow neck that parts converging tides,
Sinks the deep trench, erects the mantling tower,
Lines with strong forts the desolated shore,
Hems on all sides the long unsuccour'd place,
With mines and parallels contracts the space;
Then bids the battering floats his labours crown,
And pour their bombard on the shuddering town.
High from the decks the mortar's bursting fires
Sweep the full streets, and splinter down the spires.
Blaze-trailing fuses vault the night's dim round,
And shells and langrange lacerate the ground;
Till all the tented plain, where heroes tread,
Is torn with crags and covered with the dead.

Each shower of flames renews the townsmen's woe;
They wail the fight, they dread the cruel foe.
Matrons in crowds, while tears bedew their charms,
Babes at their sides and infants in their arms,
Press round their Lincoln, and his hand implore
To save them, trembling, from the tyrant's power.
He shares their anguish with a moistening eye,
And bids the balls rain thicker through the sky;
Tries every aid that art and valour yield,
The sap, the countermine, the battling field,
The bold sortie, by famine urged afar,
That dreadful daughter of earth-wasting War.
But vain the conflict now; on all the shore,
The foes in fresh brigades around him pour;
He yields, at last, the well-contested prize,
And freedom's banners quit the southern skies."

The works nearly destroyed, his retreat and provisions cut off, the city menaced with an assault, which the engineers considered it impossible to sustain; the citizens calling aloud for a surrender, Lincoln, in this deplorable extremity, yielded to the enemy. The capitulation was signed on the 12th of May; and the American army, amounting to 5000 men, with the inhabitants of the place, and 400 pieces of artillery, were surrendered to the British. The Americans were allowed *some* of the honours of war; and just the *same* honours were afterwards granted to Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown.

"We shall interrupt the thread of our history to relate the personal adventures of Major-General Wadsworth, in the district of Maine, during the spring of this year. He had been sent by the legislature of Massachusetts, to command in that part of the country. Having attended to the objects of his mission during the summer of '79, and the principal part of the succeeding winter, he dismissed his troops towards the end of February, and began to prepare for his return to Boston. He had been accompanied during this time by Mrs. Wadsworth, and a friend of hers, Miss Fenno, of that place.

"His preparations, however, were discovered by a disaffected

inhabitant in the neighbourhood, who gave intelligence to the commander of the British fort at Bagaduce, and assured him that the general might easily be made a prisoner. No time was lost. Twenty-five soldiers, with the proper officers, were soon embarked on board a vessel, in which they proceeded to an inlet, four miles from the general's quarters. Here they landed under cover of night, and lying concealed till near midnight, they proceeded on their destined purpose.

"The nature of the ground was such as to conceal them until they had arrived at the house. The sentinel, being surprised, sprung into the kitchen door, and was followed by a volley from the assailants, and by some of the assailants themselves. Another party blew in the windows of the general's bed-room, whilst a third party, forcing the windows of Miss Fenno, rushed into her apartment.

"The general's room being barred, he determined to make what resistance he was able. Accordingly, as the assailants approached his apartment, he repeatedly discharged his pistols, a blunderbuss, and fusee. At length a ball from the kitchen broke his arm, and terminated the contest.

"The party, apprehensive of danger, now retired in haste, taking with them the wounded general, but leaving his wife and Miss Fenno to emotions the most intense. After proceeding with some difficulty near a mile, General Wadsworth was put on a horse, behind a mounted soldier, and being warned that silence alone would insure his safety, the party at length reached the vessel, which immediately sailed for the fort.

"Near the close of the day the party arrived with their charge. General Wadsworth landed amid the shouts of a multitude, which had assembled to see the man who had justly excited their admiration, by his enterprises in that quarter, and, under a guard, was conducted to the officers' guard-room. Here his wounds were dressed; a room in the officers' barracks was assigned him, and, through the civility of General Campbell, the commandant of the fort, who often visited him, his situation was rendered as comfortable as could be expected.

"General Wadsworth, however, was a prisoner and alone. Nothing could supply the place of freedom, to which a spirit like his constantly aspired: or of domestic happiness, which, though a soldier of the most ardent stamp, he well knew how to appreciate. Added to this, his wound, during the first two weeks, had become so inflamed as to confine him entirely to his room.

"At the expiration of this time, he had the happiness to hear from his wife by means of an officer, bearing a flag of truce, who, at his request, had been despatched by General Campbell with a letter to her, and another to the governor of Massachusetts. The intelligence he received from Mrs. Wadsworth, of her safety, and especially that of his little son, who he supposed had been killed the night he was taken prisoner, was peculiarly gratifying. So far from having been injured, his son had slept amidst all the horrors of the scene, and only knew of the transactions of the dreadful night, by the devastation he saw around him in the morning.

"At the end of five weeks, when his wounds were nearly healed, the general requested the customary privilege of a parole. Circumstances, however, existed, which rendered it necessary to deny him, and he acquiesced. About this time, Mrs. Wadsworth and Miss Fenno, under protection of a passport from General Campbell, visited him. The visit lasted ten days, to their mutual satisfaction.

"In the meantime, orders respecting him had arrived from the commanding general at New York. Of the tenor of these orders, General Wadsworth was ignorant, but their unpropitious nature was indicated by the change of conduct and countenance of some of the officers. Miss Fenno had accidentally learned their import, but she carefully concealed her knowledge until the moment of her departure, when, to prevent suspicion, she barely said, "General Wadsworth, take care of yourself." From the servants, not long after, he learned that, instead of being exchanged, he was to be sent to England.

"In the course of some days, Major Benjamin Burton, a brave officer, was conveyed as a prisoner to Bagaduce, and

lodged in the same room with General Wadsworth. He confirmed the report of the servants respecting the transportation of the general to England, and learned, not long after, that he himself was destined to a similar fate. The monitory caution of Miss Fenno was now explained, and the general plainly saw the importance of attending to it. These officers were not long in deciding that they would not cross the Atlantic; and, though scarcely a ray of hope presented itself to encourage them, they, nevertheless, resolved to attempt to escape.

"Bagaduce, on which the fort stands, is a peninsula of moderate extent, washed by considerable waters on every side, except the sandy beach which connects it with the main land on the west. The fort stands on the middle of the peninsula. The prisoners were confined in a grated room in the officers' barracks. The walls of the fort, exclusive of the depth of the ditch surrounding it, were twenty feet high, with fraising on the top, and chevaux-de-frise below. Sentinels were stationed in every place in and about the fortress, where their presence could be supposed to be necessary. Escape, therefore, seemed almost impracticable.

"After several plans proposed by the prisoners for their escape, they settled, at length, upon the following: As the room in which they were confined was ceiled with boards, they determined to cut off one of these, so as to admit their entrance. After passing through, they proposed to creep along one of the joists to which these boards were nailed, and thus to pass over the room adjoining, which belonged to the officers, until they should come to the middle entry, and then, by a blanket, which was to be taken with them, to let themselves down in this entry. In case of being observed, they agreed upon several stratagems to be employed, in order that their attempt might be crowned with success.

"In agreement with this plan, after the sentinel had taken the required precaution in regard to the prisoners, and seen them in bed, General Wadsworth arose and attempted to make the necessary incision into the board with his knife; but he found the attempt useless and hazardous, since it could

be done neither with the necessary expedition nor without noise. This part of the design was therefore abandoned. He, however, soon found means, through the agency of a soldier, who was his barber, to procure a gimlet without exciting suspicion as to the purpose for which he intended it.

"On the succeeding night they made the attempt with their gimlet, but this also occasioned too much noise. They resolved next to make the experiment in the day-time; and although two sentinels, in walking the entry, every moment or two passed by their door, which had a glass window in it, and although they were exposed every hour to the intrusion of their servants, or of the officers of the fort, they succeeded in perforating the ceiling from time to time. The stratagem was simply this. As the sentinels were in the habit of pacing the entry backwards and forwards, the prisoners would commence the same tour in their own room, being careful to keep time with them, and both to pass at the same instant by the glass door; but as the sentinels had to go twice the length the prisoners had, this afforded an opportunity for one of the latter to be engaged with the gimlet in the meantime, and then to join his companion as the sentinels came back.

"In this manner a sufficient number of holes were bored in the course of three weeks. The small spaces between the holes were cut with a penknife, except one at each corner, in order to hold the piece in its proper place till they were ready finally to remove it. The wounds, in the meantime, were covered over with a paste made of chewed bread, resembling the colour of the board, and the dust was carefully swept from the floor. All this was done without suspicion from any quarter.

"Their conveyance to New York, or Halifax, and thence to England, was understood to be by a privateer, which was then on a cruise, but was soon expected to return. Their attention, of course, was arrested by everything which they heard relative to this vessel, and they made every unsuspicious inquiry in their power, concerning the situation of the fort, the posting of the sentinels, and similar subjects. The information thus obtained, enabled General Wadsworth, who

had previously some knowledge of the place, to form a correct view of the whole ground.

"During this time they made what little preparations they were able, as to provisions, and other things, that related to their intended escape. At the end of three weeks they were all ready. The privateer was daily expected to return, which would disconcert all their purposes, and they wished nothing more than such an opportunity as a dark and rainy night would afford, in order to their deliverance. During a whole week no such opportunity offered, and, together with this fact, some circumstances, tending to excite a belief that their design was suspected, occurred, and, rendered their anxiety extreme.

"At length the favourable occasion was presented. A storm on the 18th of June brought on an unusual degree of darkness and rain. At about eleven o'clock the prisoners retired, apparently to rest, while the sentinel was looking through the glass door. No sooner, however, were their lights extinguished, than they arose; their first object was to cut the corners of the board, through which they were to make their escape. An hour was spent in accomplishing this purpose, and, as it was attended with considerable noise, it was not done without danger.

"Burton first passed through the aperture. His size rendered it a difficult attempt. The general, although smaller, found even greater difficulty from the weakness of his arm; but the urgency of the case induced him to put forth every effort. By means of a chair, on which he stood, and a blanket, fastened with a skewer put through the hole, he raised himself through. The noise made by these attempts, and even the cackling of the fowls that roosted above the rooms, were unheeded, being drowned by the torrents of rain pouring incessantly on the roof of the building.

"By agreement, when Burton had reached the middle entry, he was to wait for the general; the latter, however, when he had gained the place, was unable to find him; but judging from appearances that he had escaped through the door, he followed on. Passing partly round the building, in order to

gain the western side, *he felt his way directly under the eaves*, lest he should strike against some person, an event to which he was exposed in consequence of the extreme darkness. From this point he made his way towards the neighbouring wall of the fort, but was unable to climb the bank until he had found out an oblique path.

"Just as he had gained the place on the north bastion, where Burton and himself had agreed to cross the wall, the guard-house door, on the opposite side of the fort, was thrown open, and the words "Relief, turn out!" were distinctly heard. At this instant he heard a scrambling in a contrary direction, which he knew must be made by his companion. This was a critical moment. The general was in danger of being trod on by the guard, as they came around on the top of the wall, and he barely prevented this catastrophe, by getting himself and his wet blanket upon the fraising, which was the outward margin of the wall.

"After the guard had passed on, by means of his blanket, fastened round a picket of the fraising, he let himself down as near the ground as the length of the blanket would admit, and then let go his hold, and fell without injury. Having made several movements with great silence, in order to clear himself from the works connected with the fort, he at length found himself descending the declivity of the hill, into the open field. All this was done not without extreme difficulties, owing to the lameness of his arm. No indications appeared that he was as yet discovered.

"As the rain and darkness continued, he groped his way to an old guard-house on the shore of the back cove. At this building he and his companion had agreed to meet, should they have been previously separated. Burton, however, after a long search, was not to be found. Accordingly the general prepared to cross the cove, and happily succeeded, as the time was that of low water. It was now about two o'clock in the morning, and he had proceeded a mile and a half from the fort. His course lay up a sloping acclivity, which at the time happened to be overspread with trees, a circumstance that greatly impeded his progress. He proceeded a mile

over the ground till he reached the summit, where he found a road, which, however, he soon left for the woods, in order to make his way to the river; Here the day dawned, and he heard the *reveillé* beat at the fort. At sunrise he reached the eastern shore of the Penobscot. Choosing, however, not to cross the river at that place, he continued his way still higher up at the foot of the bank, passing near the water, *so as to have his steps washed by the tide. By this means he hoped to be secure from the bloodhounds kept at the fort.* Having reached a place at a distance of seven miles from the fort, where it was necessary for him to cross the river, and where he found a canoe lying on the shore, he concluded to rest for a time, and dry his clothes. While in this situation, what was his joy to descry his friend Burton approaching him, in the very track which he himself had taken!

"The major, after having passed through the hole in the ceiling, immediately made his way into the second entry, and concluding that his friend would be unable to pass through the hole, for want of assistance in the room, [he should have pulled him up,] thought it best to complete his escape alone. He met with little difficulty till the door of the guard-room was suddenly opened, and, supposing that a discovery had taken place, he immediately leaped from the wall; fortunately receiving no injury, though his life was singularly exposed by the leap, he easily escaped into the open ground.

"Mistaking the ground he should have taken, Burton suddenly found himself near a sentinel, who was one of a picket-guard, stationed not far from the isthmus. As, however, he was not perceived, he found means silently to withdraw from his unwelcome neighbour, and entering the water on the side of the isthmus next the river, he passed over to the opposite side, above the picket. This undertaking was hazardous in the extreme, and cost him an hour's excessive toil. Chilled and exhausted, he then took his way through the forest, which the general had taken before, and by this means rejoined him.

"The two friends entered the canoe, and as they were in the expectation of being pursued by the enemy, they proposed to cross the river obliquely. While executing this

project, a barge belonging to the British came in sight at some distance. Circumstances, however, favoured the concealment of the officers, and by hard rowing they landed out of reach of their pursuers. For greater safety they abandoned the shore, and directed their course through the forests towards the head of St. George's river. A compass which Burton had fortunately retained, was their guide. Though greatly incommoded by the showers, heat, and the obstructions of a forest, they travelled twenty-five miles by sunset.

"They made less progress, however, the next day; and, on the third day, General Wadsworth, from soreness, lameness, and fatigue, proposed to stop where he was, until his friend, by proceeding onward to the nearest settlement, could bring him relief. To this plan, however, Burton strenuously objected. They then both proposed to refresh themselves with a little sleep. This they did in the heat of the day, and found the effect so beneficial, that they were invigorated to pursue their journey, which they finished at six o'clock, P. M., by reaching the settlements towards which they had directed their course. The inhabitants flocked around them with the strongest expressions of joy, and having formed themselves into a guard for their protection, conducted these officers to an inn, not far from the place where the general was taken prisoner. Parties of the enemy were lurking round in order to waylay them, and they were saved from falling again into their hands, only by the defence which was so generously afforded them. Burton soon reached his family. General Wadsworth set out for Portland, where he expected to find Mrs. Wadsworth. But she and Miss Fenno had sailed for Boston before his arrival.

"He immediately proceeded to join them at that place. On his arrival, he found that they had suffered much from want of money and friends, besides being nearly shipwrecked on their way. The past, however, was forgotten in the felicity of the present, and in gratitude to a kind Providence, through which they had escaped perils both by sea and land."—*Dwight's Travels.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

Clinton returns to New York—Lord Cornwallis takes Command of the Army of the South—Cruelties committed by Cornwallis—Vigorous Exertions of Generals Sumpter and Marion, in Defence of their Country—General Gates supersedes Lincoln—Battle of Camden—Defeat of the Americans—Death of Baron De Kalb—Affairs in the North—Wanton Outrages committed in New Jersey by Knyphausen's Troops—Lafayette returns to America—Cheering Intelligence and bright Prospects—Patriotic Exertions of the Ladies to replenish the exhausted Treasury—Arrival of French Troops as Allies—Clinton foiled in an important Enterprise—American Affairs wear a new aspect.

"Rochambeau, foremost, with his gleamy brand
Points to each field and singles every band,
Sees Washington the power of nations guide,
And longs to toil and conquer by his side."

The height of joy and the depth of woe passed like two contending genii over the land, during the summer of 1780.

After the reduction of Charleston, Clinton returned to New York, and the command of the south was given to Lord Cornwallis, who adopted the most rigorous measures to keep the people in subjection. But his cruelties aroused the indignation of the people, and they flocked to the standard of a man, who rose up like a giant in the midst of oppression, as if just to show the world how much freedom can do; and in a short time he became truly formidable to the enemy. This was General Sumpter, a native of South Carolina, who kept up the spirit of the people by many a daring and successful exploit, until the arrival of a respectable force from the Middle States, to relieve their brethren of the south. Sumpter was assisted by Marion, whose deeds every schoolboy knows.

General Gates, who superseded General Lincoln, now took command of the army in the south, consisting of 4000 men, of whom one-half were militia, from North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia.

Lord Rawdon, who commanded at Camden, 120 miles north-east of Charleston, finding that the inhabitants of South Carolina, on the approach of Gates, were menacing his rear,

while his force was not even sufficient to defend himself against the approaching army, sent to Cornwallis for assistance. The latter hastened to the relief of Rawdon.

On the morning of the 16th of August, the two armies met, and a severe and general engagement ensued, in which the enemy gained an advantage, though inferior in numbers in the commencement of the battle. This was owing to the flight of the militia, which so reduced the army as to make it inferior to that of the enemy. Fierce and terrible was the conflict. The regulars, under Baron De Kalb, who was second in command, defended themselves with the utmost gallantry. Again and again were they led to the charge by the brave De Kalb; but, at last, pierced with eleven wounds, the hero fell dying into the power of the victors, while the Americans, overpowered by numbers, fled in every direction. The battle-field, the roads and swamps, for some distance, were covered with the wounded and slain. The number of Americans killed, amounted to between 600 and 700, and 1300 or 1400 were taken prisoners. The British estimated their loss, in killed and wounded, at 324.

The Baron died, three days after the battle, happy in the thought that he fell in a cause so noble, and to him so dear. He had also requested his aid-de-camp to express to Generals Gist and Smallwood, his high sense of the valour displayed by the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware. Congress ordered a monument to be erected to his memory, at Annapolis.

Gates was severely censured for several great errors, the most imprudent of which was his changing his order of battle in the presence of the enemy, just as the battle was about to commence. "Cornwallis, at sight of this movement, resolved to profit by it instantly. Accordingly, he ordered Colonel Webster to advance and make a vigorous attack upon those troops that were still undulating, from their not having yet been able to re-form their ranks." It is highly probable that this occasioned the early flight of the militia, and the defeat of the army.

This disaster in the south at first spread a gloom over the

country, but this was only temporary, for various reasons, one of which was the arrival of the French, in the north.

The most brutal measures were now adopted by Cornwallis to terrify the people; a great number were hung because they were faithful to their country; others were imprisoned, or had their property taken from them. Every kind of oppression disgraced this administration, which soon produced effects contrary to those desired.

During this summer, the predatory incursions of the enemy had again distressed the people of the north. General Knyphausen had entered New Jersey, plundering the country and burning villages. On arriving at Connecticut Farms, a village of about a dozen houses, and where no resistance was made, the enemy burnt the village and murdered the wife of the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, in the midst of her children, *because her husband, now absent, had advocated the cause of freedom!*

Robbed of their property; driven from their homes, often in ruins; their friends murdered and themselves threatened with all the horrors of savage warfare, do the Americans yield? Is their feeble resistance an indication of despair—of submission? and have all their toils and sufferings been in vain?

But, hark! A terrible cry echoes over the land. Why do the tyrants look pale?—It is FREEDOM speaks in a voice of thunder, and she will be heard. See where her sons are coming—the mountains—the hills—the valleys reply to the cry of vengeance of an exasperated people. They *will* be free—they *will* drive these fiends from their once peaceful homes; they will crush the satellites of England with a single blow, and then once more be happy.

Lafayette had lately returned from France, where he had been for a short time. He brought the cheering intelligence that a French army would soon arrive in America; that he had seen the troops embarked, and had exerted himself to accelerate the preparations for the expedition. This had given another impulse to the American people, and all their prospects were brightening daily. Raised from the depths of despair, by this *reaction*, to exhilarating joy, the people

were almost mad with enthusiasm. Capitalists subscribed large sums to replenish the exhausted public treasury. Of this Philadelphia first gave the example, and it was soon followed by all Pennsylvania, and other provinces. The *ladies* of Philadelphia formed a society, at the head of which they placed Lady Washington. They contributed to the relief of the state to the extent of their means; they went from house to house to animate the people to aid the sacred cause in which the country was engaged. And who would not listen to such patriotic orators? Their appeals had a power that was irresistible. The ladies of other states soon followed their example, and large sums were collected and deposited in the public treasury.

In the midst of this enthusiasm, on the 10th of July, the French arrived at Rhode Island, which had been abandoned by the British. Count Rochambeau, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king, landed 6000 soldiers; of which, according to the agreement between the court of Versailles and Congress, Washington, as captain-general, was commander-in-chief, as well as of the American armies. The French were received with demonstrations of joy by the American people, and every effort was made to cultivate a permanent friendship between the soldiers of the two nations.

Clinton resolved to attack the French army at Newport with a force of 6000 men. The British squadron got under sail; but Washington, now reinforced by his enthusiastic countrymen, descended along the Hudson to *Kingsbridge*, and menaced New York. *This brought Clinton back with all his forces.* Such a movement raised high the *morale* of the American and French armies, now exulting in seeing a baffled enemy vacillating between two points.

The French had brought a great deal of *coin* with them, which they spent very freely, resolved to make it *circulate;* and this made money plentier, and everything began to wear a cheerful aspect.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Treason of Arnold—Arrest of Andre—Their treacherous Designs frustrated—Arnold escapes—Execution of Andre—Paulding, Williams, and Van Wert rewarded by Congress—Price of Arnold's Treason.

"Oh for a tongue to curse the slave,
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the councils of the brave,
And blasts them in their hours of might!
May life's unblessed cup for him
Be drugg'd with treacheries to the brim,
With hopes that but allure to fly,
With joys that vanish while he sips,
Like Dead-Sea fruits, that tempt the eye,
But turn to ashes on the lips!
His country's curse, his children's shame,
Outcast of virtue, peace, and fame,
May he, at last, with lips of flame,
On the parch'd desert thirsting die,—
While lakes that shone in mockery nigh,
Are fading off untouch'd, untasted,
Like the once glorious hopes he blasted!"

It is a painful task to curse a man, and to record his treason, after he has toiled and suffered so long and so much in the cause of his country, as General Arnold. But the crime of treason is such an aggravated one, that no language can express the abhorrence and detestation that every honourable man must feel of the crime and the criminal.

"During some time, a design had been maturing in the shades of mystery, whose execution, had it succeeded to the wish of its authors, would have involved the total ruin of the army of Washington, and, perhaps, the entire subjugation of America. A single instant more, and the work of so many years, cemented at such a cost of gold and blood, might have been demolished to its foundations by a cause altogether unthought of. The English had well nigh, by means of treason, arrived at that object which, with five years of intrigue and

of combat, they had not been able to attain; and it was even at the hands of the man they least suspected, that the Americans were to have received the most fatal blow. They had but too manifest a proof, that no confidence can be placed in courage when disunited from virtue. They learned that men who displayed the most enthusiasm for a cause, are often also those who become the soonest unfaithful; and it should never be forgotten, that the man without morals, who arrives at the first offices of the republic, has no other object but to satiate his ambition or his cupidity, at the expense of his fellow-citizens. If he enconnter obstacles, he is ripe for deeds of violence within, and treason without. The name of General Arnold was deservedly dear to all Americans; they considered him as one of their most intrepid defenders. Numerous wounds, and especially that which had almost deprived him of the use of one leg, had forced him to take repose at his seat in the country.

"Congress, with the concurrence of Washington, in recompense of his services, appointed him commandant of Philadelphia, immediately after that city was evacuated by the English, and returned to American domination. Here Arnold lived at an enormous expense, and showed himself extremely grasping in order to support it.

"Unable to support this extravagance from the emoluments of his employment, he commenced speculating, which also failed. He then began to embezzle the public treasure. The government appointed commissioners to investigate the matter; and Arnold, enraged at their decision, loaded them with imprecations, and appealed to Congress. But the members charged to examine the accounts anew, declared that the commissioners had allowed him more than he was entitled to. This led him to the most bitter invective, and indecent abuse of Congress. He was also accused, by Pennsylvania, of peculation, in converting to his own use the confiscated British merchandise at Philadelphia. He was brought before a court-martial, and the sentence of the court was, that he should be reprimanded by Washington.

"Burning with revenge, and desirous to glut his thirst for

gold, he resolved not only to join the enemy, *but first solicited and obtained the command of West Point, which by great labour and expense had been rendered impregnable, to introduce the enemy into this all-important citadel!*

"Having assumed the command, he entered into negotiations with Sir Henry Clinton; but, fortunately, the plot was discovered in time to defeat it, though Arnold escaped to the enemy. Major Andre, the agent of Clinton, was arrested, tried, and executed as a spy.

"Major Andre, at this time adjutant-general of the British army, was an officer, extremely young, but high-minded, brave, and accomplished. He was transported in a vessel called the Vulture, up the North river, as near to West Point as was practicable, without exciting suspicion. On the 21st of September, at night, a boat was sent from the shore to bring him. On its return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army.

"Their business was not finished, till too near the dawn of day for Andre to return to the Vulture. He, therefore, lay concealed within the American lines. During the day, the Vulture found it necessary to change her position, and Andre, not being able now to get on board, was compelled to attempt his return to New York by land.

"Having changed his military dress for a plain coat, and received a passport from Arnold, under the assumed name of John Anderson, he passed the guards and outposts without suspicion. On arriving at Tarrytown, a village thirty miles north of New York, in the vicinity of the first British posts, he was met by three militia soldiers—John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert. He showed them his passport, and they suffered him to continue his route. Immediately after this, one of these three men, thinking that he perceived something singular in the person of the traveller, called him back. Andre asked them where they were from? 'From down below,' they replied, intending to say, from New York. Too frank to suspect a snare, Andre immediately answered, 'And so am I.' Upon this, they arrested him, when he declared himself to be a British officer, and offered them his

watch, and all the gold he had with him, to be released. These soldiers were poor and obscure, but they were not to be bribed. Resolutely refusing his offers, they conducted him to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, their commanding officer.

"Jameson injudiciously permitted Andre, still calling himself Anderson, to write to Arnold, who immediately escaped on board the Vulture, and took refuge in New York.

"Washington, on his way to head-quarters, from Connecticut, where he had been to confer with Count de Rochambeau, providentially happened to be at West Point just at this time. After taking measures to insure the safety of the fort, he appointed a board, of which General Green was president, to decide upon the condition and punishment of Andre. After a patient hearing of the case, September 29th, in which every feeling of kindness, liberality, and generous sympathy was strongly evinced, the board, upon his own confession, unanimously pronounced Andre a *spy*, and declared, that, agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death.

"Major Andre had many friends in the American army, and even Washington would have spared him, had duty to his country permitted. Every possible effort was made by Sir Henry Clinton in his favour, but it was deemed important that the decision of the board of war should be carried into execution. When Major Andre was apprized of the sentence of death, he made a last appeal, in a letter to Washington, that he might be shot, rather then die on a gibbet.

"'Buoyed above the terror of death,' said he, 'by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected. Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your excellency, and a military friend, to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour. Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, as the victim of policy and resentment, I shall experience

the operations of those feelings in your breast by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.'

"This letter of Andre roused the sympathies of Washington, and had *he* only been concerned, the prisoner would have been pardoned and released. But the interests of his country were at stake, and the sternness of justice demanded that private feelings should be sacrificed. Upon consulting his officers on the propriety of Major Andre's request, to receive the death of a soldier,—to be shot—it was deemed necessary to deny it, and to make him an example. On the 2d of October, this unfortunate young man expired on the gallows, while foes and friends universally lamented his untimely end.

"As a reward to Paulding, Williams, and Van Wert, for their virtuous and patriotic conduct, Congress voted to each of them an annuity of 200 dollars and a silver medal, on one side of which was a shield with this inscription—'Fidelity,'—and on the other, the following motto: 'Vincit amor patriæ'—the love of country conquers.

"Arnold, the miserable wretch, whose machinations led to the melancholy fate which Andre experienced, escaped to New York, where, as the price of his dishonour, he received the commission of *brigadier general*, and the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling. This last boon was the grand secret of Arnold's fall from virtue; his vanity and extravagance had led him into expenses which it was neither in the power nor will of Congress to support."

CHAPTER XXV.

General Gates is succeeded by General Greene—Takes the Field against a superior Enemy—Sends Morgan to the western part of South Carolina—Cornwallis sends Col. Tarleton after Morgan—Battle of the Cowpens—Terrible Rout of Tarleton and Destruction of his light Troops.

"I have no words,
My voice is in my sword; thou bloodier villain
Than terms can give thee out!"

After the unfortunate battle of Camden, Gates made every effort in his power to assemble troops and support the cause of Congress; but Congress and Washington had decided that General Greene should be intrusted with the command of the southern provinces. The conduct of Gates upon this occasion was highly honourable, betraying no ill feelings whatever; and when he passed through Richmond, Virginia, he was treated with marked attention and respect.

General Greene took the field, against an enemy superior in force, with an army consisting of only 2000 men, more than one-half of whom were militia. As his intention was merely to harass the enemy, avoiding general actions, he divided his force, sending General Morgan to the western part of South Carolina.

Cornwallis was just on the point of invading North Carolina, but deeming it imprudent to leave such a man as Morgan in his rear, he sent Colonel Tarleton to fight him, and "to push him to the last." It so happened, however, that Tarleton got pushed very hard himself.

On the 17th of January, 1781, the two detachments met, when the memorable battle of the Cowpens was fought, resulting in one of the most brilliant victories achieved during the revolution.

As the force of Morgan amounted to only about 500 men, part of whom were militia, while that of Tarleton consisted of 1000, the flower of the British army, he retreated for some time; but arriving at the place called the Cowpens, and

finding himself hard pressed by Tarleton, while a broad river which lay before him could not be crossed in the presence of the enemy without very great danger, he made a stand, resolving to give battle. The troops were formed in two divisions; the militia, under Colonel Pickens, were placed in front of a wood, while the second, under Colonel Howard, was concealed in the wood; these were marksmen, and old continental troops. Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, was stationed behind the second division, as a reserve. Tarleton came up and formed in two lines, when the battle commenced. The American militia fled on the first charge. The enemy fell on the second, where a most obstinate resistance was made; but Tarleton pushing forward a battalion of his second line, and ordering a charge of cavalry on the right flank of the Americans at the same time, they gave way and were thrown in disorder. Colonel Washington, who had already repulsed an assault of the enemy's cavalry, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that he restored the battle. In the meantime, Pickens and Howard had rallied their men, who were led back to the fight.

Taking advantage of this auspicious period, Morgan made a general charge, like a lion rushing from the forest upon his prey. The enemy, unable to sustain such a shock, first paused, then recoiled, and soon fled in dismay. The Americans pursued, killed, and took prisoners nearly the whole detachment. The loss of the enemy was over 800 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. All their baggage, carriages, and a great number of horses, also fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the Americans was only 12 killed and 60 wounded. This astonishing victory produced a great effect in reviving the courage of the people of the south. They had been treated with great cruelty by Tarleton, who was one of the GREATEST *petty* tyrants that ever disgraced the British name.

Congress voted public thanks to Morgan, and presented him with a gold medal. Colonels Washington and Howard received silver medals, and Colonel Pickens a sword. These four heroes reflected a lustre back upon Greene, who sent them.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Cornwallis pursues Morgan — Greene forms a Junction with him — Singular Escapes of Morgan by the Rising of Rivers—Greene retreats towards Virginia—Crosses the River Dan—Narrow Escape—Evades the Enemy and now bids them Defiance—The Enemy now *barks* at Greene in the Form of a *Proclamation*—Greene sends a Detachment across the Dan—Re-crosses the Dan himself—Battle at Guilford Court-House—Greene leads his Forces to South Carolina—Battle of Camden—Battle of the Eutaw Springs—Cornwallis marches to Virginia.

"My friends, I love your fame, I joy to raise
The high-toned anthem of my country's praise."

The news of an ordinary defeat would have been a great affliction to Cornwallis; but the *destruction* of his light troops at the commencement of the campaign, by an inferior force, was a blow that could not be fully repaired. In order to *make light troops*, he was obliged to destroy his heavy baggage and carriages, which required two days. How much of this had been stolen from the unarmed inhabitants, we are unable to say; but the soldiers saw it destroyed, we are told, with a very good grace.

Cornwallis marched in pursuit of Morgan, who had given such an uncourteous reception to his detachment; but Greene, penetrating his design, hastened to join Morgan. The junction was at last effected at Guilford Court-House, in North Carolina. Morgan was fiercely pursued by an enemy, burning with revenge, and after crossing the Catawba river the enemy appeared on the opposite bank. The rains which had fallen raised the river, and it was no longer fordable. By throwing many obstacles in the way of the enemy, Morgan succeeded in reaching the Yadkin river; and this again he crossed just in time to escape, when another rain again raised the river, and prevented the immediate pursuit of the enemy. After the union of the two generals, Greene, of course, assumed the command, and, being still inferior in numbers, he continued the retreat towards Virginia.

Cornwallis, failing in his extraordinary efforts to prevent a

junction of the American generals, sought to indemnify himself for his losses, toils, and privations, by cutting off Greene's retreat. The race was now for the river Dan, which separated North Carolina from Virginia. Cornwallis hastened to the high country, believing that the river would not be fordable in the lower parts. The enemy, after the most prodigious exertions, occupied the upper fords first, and Greene was obliged to hasten to a lower ford, called Boyd's Ferry, without knowing whether it was practicable or not. The British pursued rapidly, and upon the passage of this river depended the safety of the army. Greene arrives at the river and finds it fordable, but the enemy are near. He throws impediments in their way; keeps up continual skirmishes, and reminds his officers that on their firm resistance depended the salvation of the whole army. He reached the opposite shore in safety, with all his baggage, and the enemy appeared on the right side of the Dan. But it is too late. They saw the American army formed in formidable array on the opposite bank. In this imposing attitude, with all Virginia to aid them, Cornwallis knew it would be in vain to attempt to conquer with his enfeebled troops. The bright visions of the enemy at once vanished, and they retired to Hillsborough and issued a *proclamation*.

The talents displayed in the retreat of Greene and Morgan, would have done honour to any general of ancient or modern times.

Greene, to guard against any extensive operations of the loyalists of North Carolina, detached anew, upon the right side of the Dan, a body of cavalry under Colonel Lee. This was not only to intimidate the royalists, but to protect and encourage the republicans.

A number of loyalists were assembled by Colonel *Pill*, but Lee soon *swallowed* him, with his whole company, all being killed or taken prisoners. Tarleton now advanced against Lee, but an order of Cornwallis directed him back to Hillsborough. The cause of this was, that Greene, after receiving a small reinforcement, like a second Washington, had *recrossed the Dan*, and seemed on the point of carrying the

war, like a whirlwind, over the State. Cornwallis left Hillsborough, and, after both generals had manœuvred with uncommon abilities for a long time, Greene avoiding a general action until the arrival of his expected reinforcements, the two armies met at Guilford Court-House; but not until the American general had received his reinforcements, when he made the first move against the enemy.

"On the 8th of March, a general engagement took place, in which victory, after alternately passing to the banners of each army, finally decided in favour of the British.

"The British loss, in this battle, exceeded five hundred in killed and wounded, among whom were several of the most distinguished officers. The American loss was about four hundred in killed and wounded, of which more than three-fourths fell upon the continentals. Though the numerical force of General Greene nearly doubled that of Cornwallis, yet, when we consider the difference between these forces, the shameful conduct of the North Carolina militia, who fled at the first fire, the desertion of the second Maryland regiment, and that a body of reserve was not brought into action, it will appear that our numbers actually engaged but little exceeded that of the enemy.

"Notwithstanding the issue of the above battle, General Greene took the bold resolution of leading back his forces to South Carolina, and of attacking the enemy's strong post at Camden, in that State. Accordingly, on the 20th, he encamped at Logtown, within sight of the enemy's works. Lord Rawdon at this time held the command of Camden, and had a force of only nine hundred men. The army of General Greene—a detachment having been made for another expedition under General Lee—amounted scarcely to twelve hundred men of all classes.

"On the 25th, Lord Rawdon drew out his forces, and the two armies engaged. For a season victory seemed inclined to the Americans, but, in the issue, General Greene found himself obliged to retreat.

"The American loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was two hundred and sixty-eight; the English loss was nearly

equal. The failure of the victory in this battle was not attributable, as in some cases, to the flight of the militia, when danger had scarcely begun—but General Greene experienced the mortification of seeing a regiment of veterans give way to an inferior force, when every circumstance was in their favour—the very regiment, too, which, at the battle of the Cowpens, behaved with such heroic bravery.

"Although the British arms gained the victory of Camden, the result of the whole was favourable to the American cause. General Lee, with a detachment despatched for that purpose, while Greene was marching against Camden, took possession of an important post at Mottes, near the confluence of the Congaree and Santee rivers. This auspicious event was followed by the evacuation of Camden by Lord Rawdon, and of the whole line of British posts, with the exception of Ninety-Six and Charleston.

"Ninety-Six, one hundred and forty-seven miles north-west from Charleston, was garrisoned by five hundred and sixty men. Against this post, after the battle of Camden, General Greene took up his march, and on the 22d of May sat down before it. Soon after the siege of it had been commenced, intelligence arrived that Lord Rawdon had been reinforced by troops from Ireland, and was on his march with two thousand men for its relief. Greene now determined upon an assault; but in this he failed, with a loss of one hundred and fifty men.

"Soon after his arrival at Ninety-Six, Lord Rawdon deemed it expedient to evacuate this post. Retiring, himself, to Charleston, his army encamped at the Eutaw Springs, forty miles from Charleston.

"General Greene, having retired to the high hills of Santee, to spend the hot and sickly season, in September approached the enemy at the Eutaw Springs. On the morning of the 8th, he advanced upon him, and the battle between the two armies became general. The contest was sustained with equal bravery on both sides—victory seeming to decide in favour of neither.

"The British lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about

one thousand one hundred. The loss of the Americans was five hundred and fifty-five.

"The battle at Eutaw Springs was the last general action that took place in South Carolina, and nearly finished the war in that quarter. The enemy now retired to Charleston.

"Thus closed the campaign of 1781 in South Carolina. Few commanders have ever had greater difficulties to encounter than General Greene; and few have ever, with the same means, accomplished so much. Though never so decisively victorious, yet the battles which he fought, either from necessity or choice, were always so well managed as to result to his advantage.

"Not unmindful of his eminent services, Congress presented him with a British standard, and a gold medal, emblematical of the action at the Eutaw Springs, which restored a sister State to the American Union. Had it pleased Providence to take away Washington during the revolution, Greene would have been his successor.

"After the battle of Guilford, between Greene and Cornwallis, noticed above, the latter, leaving South Carolina in charge of Lord Rawdon, commenced his march towards Petersburg, in Virginia, where he arrived on the 20th of May. Having received several reinforcements, he found himself with an army of eight thousand men, and indulged the pleasing anticipations that Virginia would soon be made to yield to his arms."

While Colonel Tarleton was making his predatory excursion through Virginia, nine of his men went to a tavern to rob and plunder as usual. Peter Francisco became an object of their attention; and, among other things, a pair of shoe-buckles were found on Peter, which were fashionable in those days. A British officer, with drawn sword, approached our hero and demanded his buckles. Peter, being defenceless, told him to take them, when the officer placed his sword under his arm and stooped to take them from Peter's shoes. Peter was one of the strongest men in the State; and, watching his opportunity, he very slyly took the sword from under the arm of the Briton and laid him at his feet; then falling

upon the rest, he dealt destruction on all sides, and *routed* the whole of them!

The reader will perceive that Peter is in a fair way of retaining his buckles to ornament his shoes many a day, while the Briton on horseback is less likely to hold on to his gun; his countenance, bespeaking anything but exultation, seems to indicate that he considers himself in rather a dangerous position. Lay it on, Peter; you are ridding our country of robbers and murderers, who would have had the audacity to rob you of your buckles! The man who looks on seems somewhat amazed; and the negroes, showing the white of the eye rather largely and using their legs very freely, seem somewhat alarmed. I am told Peter is still living, which shows he knew as well how to escape from Tarleton's four hundred soldiers as to conquer nine of them.—Huzza for Peter!

CHAPTER XXVII.

Washington manœuvres before New York—Directs his Course to Yorktown—Reaches Chesapeake Bay—Arrival of Count de Grasse—Wading through the Susquehanna—Arrival of Count de Barres—Siege of Yorktown—Efforts of Cornwallis—Storming of Redoubts—Critical Situation of Cornwallis—Surrender of Cornwallis—Terms of Capitulation—Rejoicings of the People—*Dissection* of a King—End of the War—Courtship and Marriage of Washington—Prayer of Washington.

"The drying up a single tear has more
Of honest fame, than shedding seas of gore.

And why? because it brings self-approbation,
Whereas the other, after all its glare,
Shouts, bridges, arches, pensions from a nation—
Which (it may be) has not much left to spare—
A higher title, or a loftier station,
Though they may make corruption gape or stare,
Yet, in the end, *except in freedom's battles*,
Are nothing but a child of murder's rattles.

And such they are—and such they will be found.
Not so Leonidas and Washington,
Whose every battle-field is holy ground,
Which breathes of nations saved, not worlds undone.
How sweetly on the ear such echoes sound!
While the mere victors may appal or stun
The servile and the vain, such names will be
A watchword till the future shall be free."

"And seas and continents his voice obey."

HERE, in this sacred spot, beneath the cedar and the pine, where the cactus flourishes, and the wild rose blooms; where the mocking-bird sings in the grove, and the fawn steals timidly away, and where, sixty-three years ago, *Washington* stood directing a great siege, we now wander to study the battle-ground of Yorktown.

Yorktown is situated on the south side of York river, eleven miles from its mouth; and opposite is Gloucester, another village, on a point of land projecting far into the river, leaving the stream only one mile wide, though it is from three to four miles wide above and below.

——"Time, war, flood, and fire,
Have dealt upon the seven-hill'd city's pride."

This is literally true, except the flood, and instead of Yorktown being built on seven hills, it is on no hill at all, but merely on a high bank. The town is still in ruins; the siege, and subsequent fire, have left only a remnant of what it was before. The lizard crawls through the tall weeds in the ruined church; and the walls of the cemetery being levelled with the earth, enables brutes to rove about among the sculptured monuments of the illustrious dead. The number of inhabitants is only one hundred and twenty.

The battles were fought all around the town, on the plantation of Governor Nelson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who had been elevated by Congress to the rank of brigadier-general, and who was now at the head of a detachment of Virginia militia. His house soon became a shapeless heap of ruins; his land covered with en-

trenchments, forts and redoubts; but the same spirit which, in 1774, dictated the letters to members of the British Parliament, and to others, which his grandson, William Nelson, the present owner of the plantation, had the kindness to show us, and which now appear as oracles of inspiration, not only made him indifferent to the destruction of his own property, but a large portion of his private fortune was distributed with a bounteous hand, to supply the wants of the army. By the aid of the documents of Governor Nelson, and the kind assistance of Mr. William Nelson, who took me over the plantation, pointing out the parallels, redoubts and forts, still to be distinctly seen, I was able to learn the entire plan of operations of the besiegers and the besieged.

We wandered about, and studied the battle-ground, for a period of three days, when we sat down at the place already alluded to, and in imagination fought the battles over again, as follows:

Washington had intrusted Lafayette with the defence of Virginia; and the young hero, who was called a boy by Cornwallis, hung on the proud lord's back like an incubus, harassing him, repressing his excursions—now driving back his foraging parties—then fighting the British vigorously—until, at length, he shrewdly conducted Cornwallis to Yorktown.

When Lafayette had hoaxed Cornwallis, and Washington alarmed and hoaxed Sir Henry Clinton, by his pretended siege of New York, the commander-in-chief suddenly turned to the right, back of the mountains, between the interior of the State of New Jersey and the district on the sea-coast, hurried his army to the Delaware—waded through the water near Trenton, below the falls—marched to Philadelphia, and defiled before the assembled Congress.

Reaching the head of Elk river, at the bottom of the Chesapeake Bay, there were not vessels enough to embark the two armies, whose vanguards, composed of grenadiers and chasseurs, alone were taken away, while all the rest, with the field-artillery and baggage, continued their march to Baltimore and Annapolis, whither Count de Grasse, who

had arrived in the bay, was to send all the boats he could spare.

But on their way to Baltimore the Susquehanna had to be crossed, which could not be accomplished with sufficient expedition in a few ferry-boats, the only means in possession of the army, if they would cross near the mouth of the river. Count Dumas, to whom orders had been given to direct this passage, being informed by the country people that the river was fordable, during the fine season, just below the falls, and twenty miles above its mouth, repaired to the place with guides. He examined the ford, and found it rather forbidding; but he rushed through water four feet deep, over broken rocks and loose boulders, with artillery, horses, and other *impediments*, and arrived on the opposite shore with very little loss. We feel disposed, even at this late period, to give the count *three cheers* for this daring enterprise. It was certainly the most expeditious mode of surmounting a difficulty.

The York river was blockaded by the French fleet to prevent Cornwallis from escaping, or receiving reinforcements from Clinton, and the James river, to establish a communication with Lafayette, who was at Williamsburg, only a few miles from Yorktown, where, it was feared, he might be overwhelmed by Cornwallis, who, discovering his danger, might thus attempt to escape into the Carolinas. Three thousand French troops were sent up James river, under Marquis de St. Simon, to make a junction with Lafayette.

The Count de Grasse, having handled the British squadron under Admiral Graves very roughly, during which time the Count de Barras, with his artillery and munitions of war, from Rhode Island, entered the channel, the French had entire command of the bay. After disembarking their implements of siege, they were at leisure to convey Washington's army from Annapolis to the mouth of the James river, and up that river to Williamsburg. All the army was here united on the 26th and 27th of September, 1781. From the head of Elk river, General Washington and Count Rochambeau, with a light escort, had departed first, and by forced marches of sixty miles a day, had arrived at Williamsburg on the 14th

of September, from which place they were at once conveyed on board the Ville de Paris, the flag-ship of Count de Grasse, where a council was held as to their future operations.

In the meantime Cornwallis was busy in entrenching himself at Yorktown and Gloucester, obstructing the river with some of his ships, which he sunk in the channel. His fortifications, thrown up with the most indefatigable industry, were strengthened by wood-work. On the east end of the town, he constructed a fort, which is almost perfect to this day: extending from this, his works encircled the town. East of the fort, at a distance of several hundred yards, is a very deep ravine; and still further east are the remains of two redoubts, six hundred yards from the fort; of these we shall have occasion to speak again. Independent of the works around and near Yorktown, which extend from the edge of the river below the town, his lordship had constructed a number of redoubts at some distance from the main works, which he was obliged to abandon, with few exceptions, on the approach of the allies, to guard against being outflanked and cut off from his shipping and Gloucester point. The command of the latter had been given to a detachment of six hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton.

And now they come—Washington, Rochambeau, Lafayette—the love of freedom blazing in their souls; the destiny of the present and future generations revolving in their towering minds. The armies march; the earth trembles beneath their feet. The French corps of 7000 men, under Rochambeau, their commander-in-chief, are ordered by Washington to take the upper half of the semicircle; to extend the investment from the river, above Yorktown, to a morass near Governor Nelson's house; to take advantage of the wood, creek, &c., blocking up the enemy in that quarter within pistol-shot of their works.

The American army now passes the morasses, over bridges which they had repaired, and Yorktown is completely invested. About the same time, the Duke de Lauzun, with his legion, and a detachment of Virginia militia under General

Weedon, took a position in front of and blockaded Gloucester point. The combined armies amounted to about 16,000; the British to about one-half that number.

The trenches are next opened by the allies, in the night of the 6th and 7th of October. Amid the roar of artillery, they pushed their works with such energy, that the first parallel, extending for miles around the town, was soon completed, the batteries erected and covered with nearly one hundred pieces of ordnance.

Hark! the voice of freedom speaks from the mouths of a hundred cannon, the only argument that tyrants will hear; and while the British defences were falling faster than the labour and perseverance of the soldiers could construct and repair them, the appalling truth was once more forced upon their proud and stubborn minds, that the republicans have an arm to strike and a soul to dare as well as they, the proudest mercenaries of relentless oppressors.

The besiegers begin the second parallel, only three hundred yards from the British works. A deluge of bombs and balls is poured from the enemy's lines, but their own batteries are soon silenced by the fire of the first parallel of the Americans.

The two advanced redoubts below the fort of the enemy, of which we have already spoken, interfering with the completion of the besiegers' second parallel, by their incessant and galling fire, Washington resolved to take them by storm. One of these redoubts is on the high bank of the river, the other a few hundred yards from it. In order to excite a spirit of emulation, (for they could see each other,) Washington ordered Lafayette, at the head of American light-infantry, to storm the redoubt next the river, and Baron Viomesnil, at the head of some French grenadiers, to take the other. Relying entirely upon their bayonets, the Americans, with unloaded guns, rushed forward with extreme impetuosity, Col. Hamilton leading the van,

"An Ithacus in camp, an Ajax in the field,"—

drove some of the enemy headlong over a precipice one hun-

dred feet high, killed a few, and astonished and took nearly all the remainder prisoners. The French, with a little more fighting, carried the other redoubt at the point of the bayonet.

These redoubts were soon included in the second parallel. The firing of the Americans is now one continuous peal of deafening thunder. The deer starts in terror from his lair; the wild bird screams; the liberated steed forgets to graze, bounds away, then stops and snuffs the air, and runs again. The dog howls piteously, crouches and seeks his master's aid. The war-steed, with arched neck, champs the bit, tugs the rein, and paws the ground, eager to rush into the midst of danger, as if he too had power to acquire or rights to maintain. The mortars and cannon pour shells, balls and grape-shot with terrible effect upon the enemy's works.

"Round the pent foe approaching breastworks rise,
And bombs, like meteors, vault the flaming skies.
Night, with her hovering wings, asserts in vain
The shades, the silence of her rightful reign;
High roars her canopy with fiery flakes,
And War stalks wilder through the glare he makes."

The British lines are falling all around them; their guns are silenced; the shipping is set on fire by the shells of the allies; and at night, the flames rise up to heaven and disclose all the horrors of the deadly strife.

Washington directs the storm; he

——"Views the tempest with collected soul,
And fates of empires in his bosom roll."

The brave, the proud lord, who strove for empire, now becomes an alarmed fugitive, attempts to escape with his army across the river, to carry desolation into other parts of the country. But the elements of heaven conspire against him; the mandates of a righteous God have gone forth, that a nation, striving in so just, so glorious a cause, shall cease to bleed, and the storm defeats the enterprise.

He sues for mercy now; he who before had only known how to command.

True greatness and generosity are inseparable; Washing-

ton, who could bend the strong in arms, also knew how to spare the feeble hand. "He was like the stream of many tides against the foes of his people, but like the gale that moves the grass to those who asked his aid. His arm was the support of the injured; the weak rested behind the lightning of his steel." With brow serene he meets the fallen foe, and conducts him to Moore's house, built in the old English style, and beautifully situated a few hundred yards from the river.

Here the terms of capitulation were signed, which made Cornwallis and his army, on both sides of the river, prisoners of war; and the vanquished garrison defiled at two o'clock, on the 19th of October, between the two allied armies, with drums beating, carrying their arms, which they piled, with twenty pair of colours, in a field near the town.

The British officers manifested the most bitter mortification. Colonel Abercrombie rapidly withdrew from the English guards, whom he had commanded, covering his face and biting his sword.

But we must endeavour to dispose of that sword of Cornwallis, which has so much puzzled historians. I have seen paintings of Cornwallis delivering his sword in person to Gen. Lincoln. I have seen engravings of the same officer in the act of presenting his sword to Washington. These are poetic licenses, like those of a poet, who, in speaking of this siege, mined and blew up a citadel, where none ever existed. With the destruction of this ideal strong-hold, he makes reeling mountains roar, fills the air with guns, bastions, magazines; and startles the British commander with the astounding earthquake, while he beholds his chosen veterans whirling down the skies.

The truth is simply this: Gen. Lincoln, at the siege of Charleston, had been obliged to surrender to the British, and Washington now appoints him to receive the submission of the British army, and to

> ——— "guide, with modest air,
> The last glad triumph of the finish'd war."

Cornwallis *felt* or feigned sickness, and constituted General O'Hara his representative. The latter, coming up to the Count Rochambeau, presented his sword to him; the count pointed to General Washington, who was opposite, at the head of the American army, and told him that the French army being auxiliaries on the continent, it was the American general who was to signify his orders to him.

Lieutenant-General Count Dumas says: "I had orders to go and meet the troops of the garrison, and to direct the columns. I placed myself at General O'Hara's left hand. As we approached the trenches, he asked me where General Rochambeau was. 'On our left,' I said, 'at the head of the French line.' The English general urged his horse forward to present his sword to the French general. Guessing his intention, I galloped on to the place myself, between him and M. de Rochambeau, who at that moment made me a sign, pointing to General Washington, who was opposite to him, at the head of the American army. 'You are mistaken,' said I to the General O'Hara, 'the commander-in-chief of our army is on the right.' I accompanied him, and the moment that he presented his sword, General Washington, anticipating him, said, 'Never from such a good hand.'"

Washington, it would appear, entertained a regard for the personal character of O'Hara, and did not wish to increase chagrin and mortification by taking his sword. The magnanimous conqueror, satisfied with having deprived the officers of the means of injuring his country, declined gratifying his own pride by humbling a fallen foe. Four young poplars, however, mark the spot where *the sword was surrendered*, but *not received* either by Washington or Lincoln.

If argument were necessary to confirm the assertions of such respectable authority, let it be remembered, the terms of capitulation were, in general, the same which had been granted to General Lincoln at Charleston, eighteen months before; and we are told, by American and British historians, that on that occasion the officers retained their *arms* and baggage.

The glad tidings of victory spread over the length and

breadth of the land. Joy exhilarates the soul of every freeman; they congratulate each other, by a hearty shake of both hands. The farmer stops his labour, throws down his hat and leaps for joy; the mechanic rushes out of his shop to convey the happy news to his friends, and to hear more. The orator mounts the rostrum, and pours forth his gratitude in spirit-stirring eloquence. The sick man raises his head from the pillow, and finds himself much better. Every heart is full of gratitude; a few men really lose their senses, and one old patriot in Philadelphia died in ecstacy.

The people hastened to the churches, and poured forth their souls in prayer to God for their glorious victory over their oppressors. In these prayers, proceeding from hearts overflowing with gratitude, could be heard the names of Washington, Rochambeau, Lafayette; many a sweet voice, breathed through rosy lips, pronounced the name of the father of his people; many a white hand was raised to heaven to invoke kindred spirits to shower their blessings upon his head. These were times that tried men's souls, and *such* a victory tried them again.

The sirocco blast of a six years' war had already raged over the land, but now the people feel their might; and what madman would prolong the war in behalf of his king? Who would now stem the torrent of public opinion, of a nation of patriots? Return, ye hirelings of an idiot king, and tell your master, that when he hears the deep hollow thunder of the cataract of Niagara, mingled with the roar of the long and angry rapids, to entreat it to cease its appalling din and tumultuous uproar. When the terrors of the volcano shake mountains to their bases, and rivers of fire rush over human habitations, with deafening roar and thundering explosions, then let him tell those plutonian workshops to calm their agitated breasts, to hush their terrors, to cease their devastations, and sink into the repose of a horrid sleep. When the earthquake upheaves the earth, shakes cities into fragments, rolls the sea in mountain billows to the shore, then let him threaten it with tax-laws, and command it to stop the dread ruin and wide-spread consternation which it occasions. Then, *then* let

him tell the Americans to abandon their rights and submit to his gracious will.

Why should a nation groan under the rack of one individual, who has usurped a power, and claimed a right to rule merely because his ancestors ruled with a delegated power? What entitles him to that station? When did his divine right begin? Was it in oppression and wrong, violence and murder; or through the agency of those he first wronged and then led against other countries? A king! what is he, George III.?—Many a negro's name was George—a first, a second, a third!—A king! What is he?—*Dissect* him and you find his skeleton is composed of bones, just like those of a beggar, and perhaps a worse *subject*. His muscles less perfectly developed than those of the healthy labourer; his *blood* contaminated by debauchery and disease; his brain probably a very ordinary *specimen;* his *heart* of the same physical conformation as those of other sons of Adam; and in a *moral* sense, probably more corrupt than the majority of others: and yet this poor specimen of humanity would castigate a nation by divine authority!

The fall of Cornwallis may be considered the end of the revolution. A few skirmishes only indicated a continuation of hostilities.

Congress appointed John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, commissioners for negotiating peace with Great Britain. They met Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of England, at Paris, where provisional articles of peace between the two countries were signed November 30th, 1782. The definitive treaty was signed on the 30th of September, 1783, which acknowledged our independence.

The army was disbanded—Washington issued his farewell orders—bade adieu to his soldiers—took leave of his officers, resigned his commission to Congress, and retired to his seat at Mount Vernon to enjoy the delights of private life. In a short time, however, he became the first in the cabinet, as he had been the first in the field.

Before we take leave of our great hero, we shall select a

rich gem for the ladies, if they will honour us with a perusal of our book. The ladies know that the brave honour, respect and love them, and the following article will show whether Washington had any time to devote to them.

"Descended from an ancient family, which first migrated to the colony of Virginia in the person of the Rev. Orlando Jones, a clergyman of Wales, Martha Dandridge was born in the county of New Kent, colony of Virginia, in May, 1732. The education of females, in the early days of the colonial settlements, was almost exclusively of a domestic character, and by instructors who were entertained in the principal families, that were too few and too "far between" to admit of the establishment of public schools. Of the early life of Miss Dandridge we are only able to record, that the young lady excelled in personal charms, which, with pleasing manners, and a general amiability of demeanor, caused her to be distinguished amid the fair ones who usually assembled at the court of Williamsburg, then held by the royal governors of Virginia.

"At seventeen years of age, or in 1749, Miss Dandridge was married to Colonel Daniel Parke Custis, of the White House, county of New Kent. This was a match of affection. The father of the bridegroom, the Honourable John Custis, of Arlington, a king's counsellor, had matrimonial views of a more ambitious character for his only son and heir, and was desirous of a connexion with the Byrd family, of Westover, Colonel Byrd being at that time, from his influence and vast possessions, almost a count palatine of Virginia. The counsellor having at length given his consent, the newly married pair settled at the White House, on the banks of the Pamunkey river, where Colonel Custis became an eminently successful planter. The fruits of this marriage were, a girl, who died in infancy, and Daniel, Martha, and John. Daniel was a child of much promise, and it was generally believed, that his untimely death hastened his father to the grave. Martha arrived at womanhood, and died at Mount Vernon in 1770, and John, the father of the biographer, (George W. P. Custis, Esq., of Arlington, D. C.) perished while in the ser-

vice of his country, in the suite of the commander-in-chief, at the siege of Yorktown, 1781, aged twenty-seven.

"On the decease of her husband, which happened about middle age, Mrs. Custis found herself at once a very young, and among the wealthiest widows in the colony. Independently of extensive and valuable landed estates, the colonel left thirty thousand pounds sterling in money, with half that amount to his only daughter, Martha. It is related of this amiable gentleman that, when on his death-bed, he sent for a tenant, to whom, in settling an account, he was due one shilling. The tenant begged that the colonel, who had ever been most kind to his tenantry, would not trouble himself at all about such a trifle, as he, the tenant, had forgotten it long ago. 'But I have not;' rejoined the just and conscientious landlord, and, bidding his creditor take up the coin, which had been purposely placed on his pillow, exclaimed, 'Now my accounts are all closed with this world;' and shortly after expired. Mrs. Custis, as sole executrix, managed the extensive landed and pecuniary concerns of the estates with surprising ability; making loans, on mortgage, of moneys, and, through her stewards and agents, conducting the sales or exportation of the crops to the best possible advantage.

"While on the subject of the moneyed concerns of seventy years ago, we hope to be pardoned for a brief digression. An orchard of fine apple trees is yet standing near Bladensburg, that was presented to a Mr. Ross, by the father of the late venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, as a recompense for Mr. Ross's having introduced to Mr. Carroll a good borrower of his money. A Colonel T., one of the ancient dons of Maryland, being observed riding over the race-course of Annapolis in a very disturbed and anxious manner, was accosted by his friends with a 'What's the matter, Colonel? Are you alarmed for the success of your filly, about to start?' 'Oh, no,' replied T., 'but I have a thousand pounds by me, to loan, and here have I been riding about the course the whole morning, and not a single borrower can I get for my

money.' We opine the same anxieties would not be long suffered in 1834.

"It was in 1758 that an officer, attired in a military undress, and attended by a body-servant, tall and militaire as his chief, crossed the ferry called Williams's, over the Pamunkey, a branch of the York river. On the boat touching the southern or New Kent side, the soldier's progress was arrested by one of those personages who give the beau idéal of the Virginia gentleman of the old régime, the very soul of kindness and hospitality. It was in vain the soldier urged his business at Williamsburgh, important communications to the governor, &c. Mr. Chamberlayne, on whose domain the militaire had just landed, would hear of no excuse. Colonel Washington was a name and character so dear to all the Virginians, that his passing by one of the castles of Virginia, without calling and partaking of the hospitalities of the host, was entirely out of the question. The colonel, however, did not surrender at discretion, but stoutly maintained his ground, till Chamberlayne bringing up his reserve, in the intimation that he would introduce his friend to a young and charming widow, then beneath his roof, the soldier capitulated, on condition that he should dine, only dine, and then, by pressing his charger and borrowing of the night, he would reach Williamsburg before his excellency could shake off his morning slumbers. Orders were accordingly issued to Bishop, the colonel's body-servant and faithful follower, who, together with the fine English charger, had been bequeathed by the dying Braddock to Major Washington, on the famed and fatal field of the Monongahela. Bishop, bred in the school of European discipline, raised his hand to his cap, as much as to say, 'Your honour's orders shall be obeyed.'

"The colonel now proceeded to the mansion, and was introduced to various guests, (for when was a Virginian domicil of the olden time without guests?) and, above all, to the charming widow. Tradition relates that they were mutually pleased on this their first interview, nor is it remarkable; they were of an age when impressions are strongest. The lady was fair to behold, of fascinating manners, and splen-

didly endowed with worldly benefits; the hero fresh from early fields, redolent of fame, with a form on which

'Every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.'

"The morning passed pleasantly away; evening came, with Bishop, true to his orders and firm at his post, holding the favourite charger with the one hand, while the other was waiting to offer the ready stirrup. The sun sunk in the horizon, and yet the colonel appeared not. And then the old soldier marvelled at his chief's delay. 'T was strange, 't was passing strange'—surely he was not wont to be a single moment behind his appointments, for he was the most punctual of all punctual men. Meantime the host enjoyed the scene of the veteran on duty at the gate, while the colonel was so agreeably employed in the parlour; and, proclaiming that no guest ever left his house after sunset, his military visiter was, without much difficulty, persuaded to order Bishop to put up the horses for the night. The sun rode high in the heavens the ensuing day, when the enamoured soldier pressed with his spur his charger's side, and speeded on his way to the seat of government, where, having despatched his public business, he retraced his steps, and at the White House, the engagement took place, with preparations for the marriage.

"And much hath the biographer heard of that marriage, from gray-haired domestics, who waited at the board where love made the feast and Washington was the guest. And rare and high was the revelry, at that palmy period of Virginia's festal age; for many were gathered to that marriage, of the good, the great, the gifted, and the gay, while Virginia, with joyous acclamation, hailed in her youthful hero a prosperous and happy bridegroom.

"'And so you remember when Colonel Washington came a courting your mistress?' said the biographer to old Cully, in his hundredth year. 'Aye, master, that I do,' replied this ancient family servant, who had lived to see five generations; 'great times, sir, great times! Shall never see the like again!' 'And Washington looked something like a man, a proper man;

hey, Cully?' 'Never seed the like, sir; never the likes of him, though I have seen many in my day; so tall, so straight! and then he sat a horse and rode with such an air! Ah, sir; he was like no one else! Many of the grandest gentlemen, in their gold lace, were at the wedding, but none looked like the man himself!' Strong, indeed, must have been the impression which the person and manner of Washington made upon the rude, 'untutor'd mind' of this poor negro, since the lapse of three-quarters of a century had not sufficed to efface them.

"The precise date of the marriage the biographer has been unable to discover, having in vain searched among the records of the vestry of St. Peter's church, New Kent, of which the Rev. Mr. Mosom, a Cambridge scholar, was the rector, and performed the ceremony, it is believed, about 1759. A short time after their marriage, Colonel and Mrs. Washington removed to Mount Vernon, on the Potomac, and permanently settled there.

"The mansion of Mount Vernon, more than seventy years ago, was a very small building compared with its present extent, numerous out-buildings having since been attached to it. The mansion-house consisted of four rooms on a floor, forming the centre of the present building, and remained pretty much in that state up to 1774, when Colonel Washington repaired to the first Congress in Philadelphia, and from thence to the command-in-chief of the armies of his country, assembled before Cambridge, July, 1775. The commander-in-chief returned no more to reside at Mount Vernon till after the peace of 1783. Mrs. or Lady Washington, as we shall now call her, such being the appellation she always bore in the army, accompanied the general to the line before Boston, and witnessed its siege and evacuation. She then returned to Virginia, the subsequent campaigns being of too momentous a character to allow of her accompanying the army.

"At the close of each campaign, an aid-de-camp repaired to Mount Vernon, to escort the lady to the head-quarters. The arrival of Lady Washington at camp was an event much anticipated, and was always the signal for the ladies of the

general officers to repair to the bosoms of their lords. The arrival of the aid-de-camp, escorting the plain chariot, with the neat postilions in their scarlet and white liveries, was deemed an epoch in the army, and served to diffuse a cheering influence amid the gloom which hung over our destinies at Valley Forge, Morristown, and West Point. Lady Washington always remained at the head-quarters till the opening of the campaign, and often remarked, in after-life, that it had been her fortune to hear the first cannon at the opening and the last at the closing, of all the campaigns of the revolutionary war. During the whole of that mighty period when we struggled for independence, Lady Washington preserved her equanimity, together with a degree of cheerfulness that inspired all around her with the brightest hopes for our ultimate success. To her alone a heavy cloud of sorrow hung over the conclusion of the glorious campaign of 1781. Her only child, while attending to his duties as aid-de-camp to the general-in-chief, during the siege of Yorktown, was seized with an attack of the camp-fever, then raging to a frightful extent within the enemy's entrenchments. Ardently attached to the cause of his country, having witnessed many of the most important events of the revolutionary contest, from the siege of Boston, in 1775, to the virtual termination of the war, in 1781, the sufferer beheld the surrender of the British army of the memorable 19th of October, and was thence removed to Eltham, in New Kent, where he was attended by Dr. Craik, chief of the medical staff. Washington learning the extreme danger of his step-son, to whom he was greatly attached, privately left the camp before Yorktown, while yet it rung with the shouts of victory, and, attended by a single officer, rode with all speed to Eltham. It was just day-dawn when the commander-in-chief sprung from his panting charger, and summoning Dr. Craik to his presence, inquired if there was any hope. Craik shook his head, when the chief, being shown into a private room, threw himself on a bed, absorbed in grief. The poor sufferer, being in his last agonies, soon after expired. The general remained for some time closeted with his lady, then remounted and returned to the camp.

"It was after the peace of 1783, that General Washington set in earnest about the improvements in building and laying off the gardens and grounds that now adorn Mount Vernon. He continued in these gratifying employments, occasionally diversified with the pleasures of the chase, till 1787, when he was called to preside in the convention that framed the present Constitution, and in 1789 left his beloved retirement to assume the chief magistracy of the Union. During the residence of General and Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon, after the peace of 1783, the ancient mansion, always the seat of hospitality, was crowded with guests. The officers of the French and American armies, with many strangers of distinction, hastened to pay their respects to the victorious general, now merged into the illustrious farmer of Mount Vernon. During these stirring times, Mrs. Washington performed the duties of a Virginian housewife, and presided at her well-spread board, with that ease and elegance of manner which always distinguished her. At length the period arrived when General and Mrs. Washington were to leave the delights of retirement and enter upon new and elevated scenes of life. The unanimous voice of his country hailed the hero who had so lately led her armies to victory, as the chief magistrate of the young empire about to dawn upon the world.

"The president and his lady bid adieu, with extreme regret, to the tranquil and happy shades where a few years of repose had, in great measure, effaced the effects of the toils and anxieties of war; where a little Eden had bloomed and flourished under their fostering hands, and where a numerous circle of friends and relatives would sensibly feel the privation of their departure. They departed, and hastened to where duty called the man of his country.

"The journey to New York, in 1789, was a continued triumph. The august spectacle at the bridge of Trenton brought tears to the eyes of the chief, and forms one of the most brilliant recollections of the age of Washington.

"Arrived at the seat of the federal government, the president and Mrs. Washington formed their establishment upon a scale that, while it partook of all the attributes of our re-

publican institutions, possessed, at the same time, that degree of dignity and regard for appearances, so necessary to give to our infant republic respect in the eyes of the world. The house was handsomely furnished; the equipages neat, with horses of the first order; the servants wore the family liveries; and, with the exception of a steward and housekeeper, the whole establishment differed but little from that of a private gentleman. On Tuesdays, from three to four o'clock, the president received the foreign ambassadors and strangers who wished to be introduced to him. On these occasions, and when opening the sessions of Congress, the president wore a dress-sword. His personal appearance was always remarkable for its being old-fashioned, and exceedingly plain and neat. On Thursdays were the Congressional dinners, and on Friday nights Mrs. Washington's drawing-room. The company usually assembled about seven, and rarely stayed exceeding ten o'clock. The ladies were seated, and the president passed around the circle, paying his compliments to each. At the drawing-rooms, Mrs. Morris always sat at the right of the lady-president; and at all the dinners, public or private, at which Robert Morris was a guest, that venerable was placed at the right of Mrs. Washington. When ladies called at the president's mansion, the habit was, for the secretaries and gentlemen of the president's household to hand them to and from their carriages; but when the honoured relicts of Greene and Montgomery came to the presidoliad, the president himself performed these complimentary duties.

"On the great national festivals of the 4th of July, and 22d of February, the sages of the revolutionary congress and the officers of the revolutionary army renewed their acquaintance with Mrs. Washington; many and kindly greetings took place, with many a recollection of the days of trial. The Cincinnati, after paying their respects to their chief, were seen to file off towards the parlour, where Lady Washington was in waiting to receive them; and where Wayne, and Mifflin, and Dickinson, and Steward, and Maylan, and Hartley, and a host of veterans, were cordially welcomed as old friends; and where many an interesting reminiscence was

called up, of the head-quarters, and the 'times of the revolution.'

"On Sundays, unless the weather was uncommonly severe, the president and Mrs. Washington attended divine service at Christ-church; and in the evening, the president read to Mrs. Washington, in her chamber, a sermon, or some portion from the sacred writings. No visitors, with the exception of Mr. Speaker Trumbull, were admitted to the presidoliad on Sundays.

"There was a description of visiters, however, to be found about the first president's mansion on all days. The old soldiers repaired, as they said, to head-quarters, just to inquire after the health of his excellency and Lady Washington. They knew his excellency was, of course, much engaged; but they would like to see the good lady. One had been a soldier of the life-guard; another had been on duty when the British threatened to surprise the head-quarters; a third had witnessed that terrible fellow, Cornwallis, surrender his sword: each one had some touching appeal, with which to introduce himself to the peaceful head-quarters of the presidoliad. All were 'kindly bid to stay,' were conducted to the steward's apartments, and refreshments set before them; and receiving some little token from the lady, with her best wishes for the health and happiness of an old soldier, they went their ways, while blessings upon their revered commander and the good Lady Washington, were uttered by many a war-worn veteran of the revolution.

"In the spring of 1797, General and Mrs. Washington, bidding adieu to public life, took their leave of the seat of government, and journeyed to the south, prepared, in good earnest, to spend the remnant of their days in their beloved retirement of Mount Vernon. The general reassumed, with delight, his agricultural employments, while the lady bustled again amid her domestic concerns, showing that neither time nor her late elevated station had anywise impaired her qualifications for a Virginian housewife, and she was now verging upon threescore and ten.

"But for Washington to be retired at Mount Vernon, or

anywhere else, was out of the question. Crowds which had hailed the victorious general as the deliverer of his country, and called him with acclamation to the chief magistracy of the infant empire, now pressed to his retirement, to offer their love and admiration to the illustrious farmer of Mount Vernon.

"Mrs. Washington was an uncommonly early riser, leaving her pillow at day-dawn, at all seasons of the year, and becoming at once actively engaged in her household duties. After breakfast she retired for an hour to her chamber, which hour was spent in prayer, and reading the Holy Scriptures, a practice that she never omitted during half a century of her varied life.

"Two years had passed happily at Mount Vernon; for, although the general, yielding to the claims of his country, had again accepted the command-in-chief of her armies, yet he had stipulated with government that he should not leave his retirement, unless upon the actual invasion of an enemy. It was while engaged in projecting new and ornamental improvements in his grounds, that the fiat of the Almighty went forth, calling the being, the measure of whose earthly fame was filled to overflowing, to his great reward in higher and better worlds. The illness was short and severe. Mrs. Washington left not the chamber of the sufferer, but was seen kneeling at the bedside, her head resting upon her Bible, which had been her solace in the many and heavy afflictions she had undergone. Dr. Craik, the early friend and companion in arms of the chief, replaced the hand, which was almost pulseless, upon the pillow, while he turned away to conceal the tears that fast chased each other down his furrowed cheeks. The last effort of the expiring Washington was worthy of the Roman fame of his life and character. He raised himself up, and casting a look of benignity on all around him, as if to thank them for their kindly attentions, he composed his limbs, closed his eyes, and, folding his arms upon his bosom, the father of his country expired, gently as though an infant died!

"The afflicted relict could with difficulty be removed from

the chamber of death, to which she returned no more, but occupied other apartments for the residue of her days.

"By an arrangement with government, Mrs. Washington yielded the remains of the chief to the prayer of the nation, as expressed through its representatives in Congress, conditioning that, at her decease, her own remains should accompany those of her husband to the capital.

"When the burst of grief which followed the death of the Pater Patriæ had a little subsided, visits of condolence to the bereaved lady were made by the first personages of the land. The President of the United States, with many other distinguished individuls, repaired to Mount Vernon, while letters, addresses, funeral orations, and all the tokens of sorrow and respect, loaded the mails from every quarter of the country, offering the sublime tribute of a nation's mourning for a nation's benefactor.

"Although the great sun of attraction had sunk in the west, still the radiance shed by his illustrious life and actions drew crowds of pilgrims to his tomb. The establishment of Mount Vernon was kept up to its former standard, and the lady presided with her wonted ease and dignity of manner at her hospitable board; she relaxed not in her attentions to her domestic concerns, performing the arduous duties of the mistress of so extensive an establishment, although in the sixty-ninth year of her age, and evidently suffering in her spirits, from the heavy bereavement she had so lately sustained.

"In little more than two years from the demise of the chief, Mrs. Washington became alarmingly ill from an attack of bilious fever. From her advanced age, the sorrow that preyed upon her spirits, and the severity of the attack, the family physician gave but little hope of a favourable issue. The lady herself was perfectly aware that her hour was nigh; she assembled her grandchildren at her bedside, discoursed to them on their respective duties through life, spoke of the happy influences of religion on the affairs of this world, of the consolations they had afforded her in many and trying afflictions, and of the hopes they held out of a blessed immortality; and then, surrounded by her weeping relatives,

friends, and domestics, the venerable relict of Washington resigned her life into the hands of her Creator, in the seventy-first year of her age.

"Agreeably to her directions, her remains were placed in a leaden coffin, and entombed by the side of those of the chief, to await the pleasure of the government.

"In person, Mrs. Washington was well formed, and somewhat below the middle size. To judge from her portrait at Arlington House, done by Woolaston, when she was in the bloom of life, she must at that period have been eminently handsome. In her dress, though plain, she was so scrupulously neat, that ladies have often wondered how Mrs. Washington could wear a gown for a week, go through her kitchen and laundries, and all the varieties of places in the routine of domestic management, and yet the gown retain its snow-like whiteness, unsullied by even a single speck. In her conduct to her servants, her discipline was prompt, yet humane, and her household was remarkable for the excellence of its domestics.

"Our filial task is done. Few females have ever figured in the great drama of life, amid scenes so varied and imposing, with so few faults and so many virtues as the subject of this brief memoir. Identified with the father of his country in the great events which led to the establishment of a nation's independence, Mrs. Washington necessarily partook much of his thoughts, his councils, and his views. Often at his side in that awful period that 'tried men's souls,' her cheerfulness soothed his anxieties, her firmness inspired confidence, while her devotional piety toward the Supreme Being enabled her to discern a ray of hope, amid the darkness of a horizon clouded by despair.

"After a long life abounding in vicissitudes, having a full measure of sorrows, but with many and high enjoyments, the venerable Martha Washington descended to the grave, cheered by the prospect of a blessed immortality, and mourned by the millions of a mighty empire."

"Silence was on her throne—the moon and stars,
Hush'd by her lifted sceptre, softly walk'd

Their azure pathway; and the quiet earth
Had not a rustling leaf, for the lull'd winds
Slept in the hill-side shadows, and the trees
Leaned o'er their images, all dark and still,
In deep unruffled waters.

There were tents,
White in the mellow moonlight, where a host
Of weary warriors lay, in such repose,
As though the camp had been a field of tombs,
And all the host were mouldering. Here and there
The armed sentinel paced to and fro,
Or wondering at the beauty of the scene,
Or musing on the future, gazing sad
Upon his shadow; feeling that his life
Was transient likewise, and would disappear
In the night of death, as disappear'd the shade
When the moon darken'd, and the passing mist
Made all its outlines blend in fellow gloom.
The instruments of battle, fraught no more
With human vengeance, lay as harmlessly
As when they slumber'd in their native hills,
Untaught to thunder and unstain'd with blood.
The banner, that had waved o'er fields of slain,
Was now its bearer's pillow; and he dream'd,
With his head resting on rent folds, of love,
And fireside peace, and female tenderness.
That sleeping host concentred in itself
The hopes of a wide world. Fell Tyranny—
The fiend, grown gray in shortening human life,
Who joys the most when joys mankind the least,
And scourges most who lowliest submit—
Had spread his sails, and push'd his giant prow
From a far isle, and o'er the trembling sea
Pursued his scornful course, and, landing proud
Upon this mighty continent, had call'd
The nation to approach, and kiss his rod.
His helm was like a mountain, and his plume
Gloom'd like a cloud; his lifted sword far shone—
A threatening comet; loud his thunder-voice
Demanded death or crouching; and his stamp
Shook the firm hills, and made the whole earth reel.
Many had gone—led by the hand of Fear—
And knelt unto the monster, kiss'd his rod,
And pointed at their brethren's breasts their swords.

But these had seized their weapons, and stood up,
E'en in his very shadow, and his threats
Answer'd like men, and rang their shields for war.
But hitherto these valiant ones had fail'd
In the fierce conflict; and, in rest, were now
Waiting the morrow, and a deadlier shock.

But one was watchful in that silent hour,
Whose heart had gather'd to itself the cares
Of all his struggling brethren, and was sad
That still Success was herald to the fiend.
Out from his tent he came, and when he heard
No sound, he joy'd to think that woe had not
So heavily press'd upon the sleepers' hearts
As on his own; and then he felt a weight
Still heavier fall upon himself, as thought
Pictured the thousands trusting in his arm;
The slumberers round—the nation's aged ones,
Whose dim eyes ceaseless wept o'er scenes of blood—
The mourning widows, clasping to their breasts
Their famish'd infants—and the virgins, pale,
Bereft of love, and in the arms of lust
Dying a thousand deaths!
On the bare earth
He knelt, in suppliance meek; and humbly laid
Beside him, his plumed helmet, and his sword,
Unsheath'd and glittering, and ask'd of God
To look on him, all helpless, and to bless
His nerveless arm with might and victory—
To smile on his worn warriors, and infuse
Spirit and fire in every languid pulse—
To frown upon the tyrant, and destroy—
And bid the mountains sing, from pole to pole,
The song of liberty, and the free waves
Clap their glad hands, and answer from afar.

God heard and answer'd—and the spirit of Strength
Walk'd in the camp, from tent to tent, and breathed
An iron vigour through the sleepers' frames,
And in their hearts a courage ne'er to quail.
And Weakness sought the valley, where the foe,
Pillow'd upon a hill, stretch'd his huge length
In cumbrous slumber; and his giant limbs
Grew soft as babe's; while Mockery soothed his soul
With dreams of speedy triumph, and rich spoil.

And Truth came down, and charm'd the suppliant
With promise of deliverance soon to be.
And o'er the mountain-top came young Success:
The sentry had not hail'd her as she pass'd,
But shut his eyes in fright, and thought he saw
A ghost, nor dream'd that she could leave the fiend.
Washington rose in peace, replaced his helm
Upon his brow, and sheath'd his glittering sword,
And felt a power was on him none could stay!

Oh! I have read of chieftains who call'd out
Their banner'd multitudes, and circled round
The noon-day altar, and anon look'd up;
While the white-bearded priest plunged deep the knife
In fellow flesh, and bathed himself in gore,
To appease the gods and gain celestial aid!
And I have read of armies, front to front,
Pausing in awful silence, with the match
Blazing o'er loaded cannon, and bright swords
Flashing in vengeful hands; while solemnly
Uncover'd chaplains bow'd between the foes,
And pour'd their mingling prayers—ere Death began
His sacrifice unto the Prince of Hell!
But this was gilded seeming—but a mere show
To warm the vassal soldiers to high thoughts,
And make them glow for carnage—not for right.
'T was mumbling prayer to God with lips profane,
While their hearts wish'd the answer of a shout
From the excited ranks—the cry for blood.
They look'd upon their warriors, as their dogs
Are look'd upon by sportsmen; and they hoped
Such solemn mockeries might their men inspire,
As gentle pattings fire unloosed hound:
And all their plan was but to curb their rage
Till it grew fierce, then burst the bands and urge
The hosts to slaughter!

Pure Sincerity
Delights to kneel in solitude, and feels
God's presence most where none but God beholds.
And when I think of our high-hearted chief
Watching while others slept—swelling his soul
To sympathize with thousands; yea, to care
For other's cares, while by themselves forgot;
Joying to find Repose had quieted
The tents of all around, yet keeping far

Her presence from his own; and when I think
Of his divestment of self-strength, and deep
And fervent longing for Almighty aid—
I feel as if Sincerity did smile
Upon that hour, and name it in her joy
The Eden of Duration's purest page
In the truth-written history of time!
Surely that quiet scene was fraught with life,
And circling angels wonder'd while they heard
The hero's soul expressing secretly
And sacredly, before the all-seeing God,
No care, no wish, but for his country's good!
And wonder'd—nay, they wonder'd not that God
Should sanctify the life-destroying sword:
For 't was thy sword, O sainted Washington!

PART IV.

THE LATE WAR.

CHAPTER I.

Declaration of War against Great Britain—Battle of Tippecanoe.

"If the deeds of your fathers are yet blazing in your souls, *assert* and *maintain* the dignity and honour of your country."

"Here 's an arm for thee, my country;
'T will far and sternly dare,
When the cloudy battle gathers dark,
And the war-shouts rend the air.

Land of our patriot fathers!
Land of the 'mighty free!'
Here 's a loud hurrah for Washington,
And his home of liberty.

Lift the noble flag above us!
Let the stormy war-drums roll;
Those stars are high as the warrior's hopes—
That music speaks his soul.

Arm for the stirring conflict!
Let the serried spears flash high:
Arm! for the God of battle leads
Our hosts to victory!"

"What hallows ground where heroes sleep?
'T is not the sculptured piles you heap!
In dews that heavens far distant weep,
Their turf may bloom."—*Campbell.*

The world is a kaleidoscope, and we now produce other pictures, which we hope may interest the reader. In our introduction to this part we must be brief, to find room to set forth the glory of our distinguished navy, together with a few great battles on the land.

On the 4th of June, 1812, a bill declaring war against Great Britain passed the House of Representatives by a majority of seventy-nine to forty-nine. After a discussion of this bill in the Senate till the 17th, it passed that body also, by a majority of nineteen to thirteen, and the succeeding day, 18th, received the signature of the President, James Madison.

The principal grounds of war, as set forth in a message of the president to Congress, June 1st, and further explained by the Committee on Foreign Relations, in their report on the subject of the message, were, summarily:—The impressment of American seamen by the British;—the blockade of her enemies' ports, supported by no adequate force, in consequence of which, the American commerce had been plundered in every sea, and the great staples of the country cut off from their legitimate markets;—and the British orders in council.

On these grounds the president urged the declaration of war. In unison with the recommendation of the president, the Committee on Foreign Relations concluded their report as follows:

"Your committee, believing that the freeborn sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of much blood and treasure, and seeing, by the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in, which might lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising resistance by force, in which the Americans of the present day will prove to the enemy and the world, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our fathers gave us, but also the will and power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of Hosts will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success, your committee recommend an immediate appeal to arms."

Against this declaration of war, the minority in the House of Representatives, among which were found the principal part of the delegation from New England, in an address to their constituents, solemnly protested, on the ground that the wrongs of which the United States complained, although in some respects grievous, were not of a nature, in the present state of the world, to justify war, or such as war would be likely to remedy. On the subject of impressment, they urged that the question between the two countries had once been honourably and satisfactorily settled, in the treaty negotiated with the British court by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney; and although that treaty had not been ratified by Mr. Jefferson, the arrangements might probably again be made. In relation to the second cause of war, the minority replied, that this was not designed to injure the commerce of the United States, but was retaliatory upon France, which had taken the lead in aggressions upon neutral rights. In addition, it was said, that as the repeal of the French decrees had been officially announced, it was to be expected that a revocation of the orders in council would soon follow.

In the conclusion of the protest, the minority spoke as follows:

"The undersigned cannot refrain from asking, What are the United States to gain by this war? Will the gratification of some privateersmen compensate the nation for that sweep of our legitimate commerce by the extended marine of our enemy, which this desperate act invites? Will Canada compensate the Middle States for New York; or the Western States for New Orleans? Let us not be deceived. A war of invasion may invite a retort of invasion. When we visit the peaceable, and to us innocent colonies of Great Britain with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horrors?

"At a crisis of the world such as the present, and under impressions such as these, the undersigned could not consider the war into which the United States have in secret been precipitated, as necessary, or required by any moral duty, or any political expediency."

As a difference of views respecting the war, which had now been declared, prevailed in Congress, so the country generally was divided into two opposite parties respecting it; the friends of the administration universally commending, and its opposers as extensively censuring and condemning the measure. By the former, the war was strenuously urged to be unavoidable and just; by the latter, with equal decision, it was pronounced to be impolitic, unnecessary, and unjust.

But before war was declared, though its approach appeared manifest, an engagement took place, May, 1811, between the American frigate President, commanded by Captain Rogers, and a British sloop of war, the Little Belt, commanded by Captain Bingham. The attack was commenced by the latter vessel, without provocation, and, in the rencontre, she suffered greatly in her men and rigging.

A court of inquiry was ordered on the conduct of Captain Rogers, which decided that it had been satisfactorily proved to the court, that Captain Rogers hailed the Little Belt first —that his hail was not satisfactorily answered—that the Little Belt fired the first gun—and that it was without previous provocation, or justifiable cause, &c. &c.

During the same year, it became obvious that the cloud of war, which had so long darkened our western frontier, must shortly burst, and pour out its contents of fury and desolation upon the unprotected habitations of the settlers.

The insidious enmity of the Indians, which had been kept alive and nourished so long by the sinister policy of England, began to assume a bolder aspect. Their murmurs were changed into threats; their complaints to vows of vengeful retribution. Great Britain also had strengthened the posts which she had retained in her possession, contrary to all good faith, and had placed Canada in a state of defence. Her outrages upon our commerce had become such as a brave nation could no longer palliate or excuse. The patience of the American people at length became exhausted, and throughout her wide domain, the democracy of the land demanded a vindication of their rights, and a redress of their wrongs. The prospect of war was viewed with enthusiasm in the West.

Governor Harrison, always foremost in the hour of his country's danger, applied to President Madison for authority to prepare the frontier for the approaching contest.

An armed force was instantly supplied him, from Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana; but he was ordered "to abstain from hostilities of any kind whatever, and to any degree, not indispensably required."

A more disadvantageous and trying position than that which Harrison occupied, cannot well be conceived. Before him was arrayed his enemy, in open preparation for battle; behind him lay a defenceless population, from which all the able-bodied men had been drafted, or had volunteered to form the army; on the right and left stretched the forest, which it was impossible to guard, and through which the foe could, at any moment, fall back upon the unprotected settlers in the rear, and carry the torch and knife to the home and throats of every family. General Harrison had not the power to attack. Until blood had stained the tomahawk, or the victim had writhed beneath the torture, he could not even unsheath his sword. Every advantage was conferred upon the enemy. In the defile of the mountain, on the plain, by night or by day, in detachments, or en masse, he might come on, when, where, and as he chose.

The genius of Harrison—"the man who never lost a battle," who never yielded to a foreign foe—was equal to this crisis; and, by a master-stroke of policy, he conquered every disadvantage, and moved down upon the Prophet's town, where all the hostile Indians were assembled. We will not accompany him on his dreary march through the wilderness, nor recount the mishaps and adventures which befel him. Suffice it to say, that, on the 5th of November, he discovered the Prophet's town, about five miles in advance of him.

Harrison now used every precaution to guard against an attack. Interpreters were sent to the enemy, who refused to hear them. At length Captain Dubois was sent forward with a flag; but the Indians, in defiance of his sacred character, made an unsuccessful effort to cut him off from the army.

Harrison, on learning this, resolved to treat them as enemies, considering this act of aggression a sufficient justification under his orders. He was preparing for an attack on them, when he was met by three chiefs, who came to avow, on the Indians' behalf, a disposition for peace. A suspension of hostilities till the next day was agreed upon, and Harrison moved his army above the town, and, with his usual judgment, selected an encampment possessing every advantage of position, together with a full supply of wood and water for the men.

It was during this night that the treacherous savages held a council, and, in open violation of their compact, resolved to attack the camp of Harrison before the break of day.

Before proceeding to a description of the celebrated battle which followed this resolution, we will pause to relate an incident which occurred this night, and which fully illustrates the humanity and benevolence of Harrison's heart. Let those, if any there be, who affect to dread his military character, read this and reflect.

Ben, a negro who belonged to the camp, deserted and went over to the Indians, and entered into a conspiracy to assassinate Governor Harrison, at the time the savages commenced their attack. Being apprehended whilst lurking about the Governor's marquée, waiting an opportunity to accomplish this foul deed, he was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be shot. The execution of this sentence was delayed for a short time, in consequence of the troops being engaged in fortifying the camp. In the mean time, the negro was put into Indian stocks—that is, a log split open, notches cut into it to fit the culprit's legs, the upper piece then laid on, and the whole firmly staked into the ground. The Governor interposed, and pardoned the culprit. The reason assigned by him for his clemency, was as follows:—"The fact was, that I began to pity him, and could not screw myself up to the point of giving the fatal order. If he had been out of my sight, he would have been executed. The poor wretch lay confined before my fire, his face receiving the rain that occasionally fell, and his eyes constantly turned upon me, as if

imploring mercy. I could not withstand the appeal, and I determined to give him another chance for his life." This act of magnanimous lenity displays, in bright colours, the goodness of Harrison's heart, and proves that no elevation of rank could cause him to forget the feelings of his fellow-men: resentment, if it dwelt in his bosom, yielded to the pleading of mercy.

After the treaty for a suspension of hostilities with the savages, the men busied themselves in fortifying the camp. This done, they retired to rest. Throughout the multitude who had lately been so active and busy, not a sound was heard, save that of the sentinel as he paced his lonely round. The moon was overcast with clouds, and an occasional dropping of rain denoted an approaching convulsion of the elements. All was as silent as the grave, when a single shot was heard, and immediately the dreadful war-whoop arose in the quarter whence it proceeded.

Harrison, who had already risen, mounted the first horse he could procure, and rode directly to the point of attack. The guard had already been driven in by the savages, but Harrison, with undaunted heroism, rallied his men, received the foe at the point of the bayonet, and drove them back.

In a short time, the troops were marshalled in order of battle, and a most deadly conflict raged until the dawn of day. Major Davis fell mortally wounded, as did also Colonel Isaac White. The savages fought with all the fury of religious fanaticism, but every effort against our troops was promptly met and gallantly repulsed. At length the Governor succeeded in breaking the enemy's left wing, and immediately after, with Cook and Larrabe's companies, he charged their right, and put their main body to flight, and thus terminated the battle.

The battle at Tippecanoe was one of the most important conflicts which ever occurred between the Indians and the whites. The forces on either side were nearly equal. The Indians, however, chose the time, place and mode of attack; and yet, notwithstanding, by the gallantry and courage of Governor Harrison, they were defeated.

The high sense entertained by the government of the conduct of the officers and soldiers in this conflict is expressed in a message from the President to Congress, dated December 18, 1811.—"While it is deeply to be lamented," says Mr. Madison, "that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action, which took place on the 9th ult., Congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valour and discipline."

Resolutions were also passed by the Legislatures of Indiana and Kentucky, of a similar purport. The following is the resolution of the latter body:

"Resolved, that in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor William Henry Harrison has, in the opinion of this Legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation."

The thanks thus conferred were well merited, as nothing could exceed the daring with which he exposed his person, at those points where the battle raged most hotly.

In some instances this exposure was so great as to demand the interference of his officers—a circumstance which has happened to no other officer of whom we have ever read, except Washington at Long Island. The following instance is given by McAffee. In speaking of his services during the combat, he says:

"The reinforcements drawn occasionally from the points most secure, were conducted by himself and formed on the spot where their services were most wanted. The officers and men, who believed that their ultimate success depended on his safety, warmly remonstrated against his so constantly exposing himself. Upon one occasion, as he was approaching an angle of the line, against which the Indians were advancing with horrible yells, Lieutenant Emerson, of the Dragoons, seized the bridle of his horse, and earnestly entreated that he

would not go there; but the governor, putting spurs to his horse, pushed on to the point of attack, where the enemy were received with firmness, and driven back."

The effect of the victory of Tippecanoe, was the immediate dispersion of the hostile bands of barbarians, who had heretofore hung on the western frontier. The various tribes denounced Tecumseh, and disclaimed all connection with him, and shortly afterwards sent eighty deputies to Governor Harrison, to treat for peace, on the terms of total submission. Far different would have been the scene had the Prophet triumphed—towns would have been sacked, hamlets burned, and the peaceful tenement of the settler offered up a sacrifice to savage fury.

CHAPTER II.

General Hull surrenders his Army to General Brock without a Battle—His Trial—His Sentence—Pardoned by the President—His Name is struck from the Rolls of the Army.

"The better part of valour is—discretion."

At least General Hull, as well as Falstaff, appears to have been of that opinion; but every general rule has its exceptions in such matters, and Congress did not agree with him.

On the 16th of August, General Hull, Governor of Michigan, who had been sent at the head of about 2500 men to Detroit, with a view of putting an end to Indian hostilities in that country, surrendered his army to General Brock, without a battle, and with it the fort at Detroit.

The sensations produced by this occurrence throughout the United States, and particularly in the Western country, can scarcely be described. So entirely unprepared was the public mind for this extraordinary event, that no one could believe it to have taken place, until communicated from an official source.

In his official despatch, Hull took great pains to free his conduct from censure. Among the reasons for his surrender, and those which determined him to that course, he assigned

the want of provision to sustain the siege, the expected reinforcements of the enemy, and the savage ferocity of the Indians, should he ultimately be obliged to capitulate.

The government, however, not being satisfied with his excuses, ordered a court-martial, before which he was charged with treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct. On the first charge the court declined giving an opinion: on the two last he was sentenced to death, but was recommended to mercy, in consequence of his revolutionary services, and his advanced age. The sentence was remitted by the president; but his name was ordered to be struck from the rolls of the army.

A chapter without a battle is rather an anomaly in our work; but for this we are indebted to the defection of General Hull.

CHAPTER III.

The Constitution captures the Guerriere—Great Damage to the Guerriere—She is set on Fire and blown up—Effects of this brilliant Victory on the American People.

"Bis vincit, qui se vincit in victoria."

——"I will board her, though she chide as loud
As thunder, when the clouds in autumn crack."

The Constitution, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, put to sea from Boston, on the 2d of September. On the 19th, a vessel hove in sight, and a chase instantly commenced. It was soon discovered to be the Guerriere, one of the best frigates in the British navy, and which seemed not averse to the rencontre, as she backed her maintop-sail, waiting for the Constitution to come down. This was a most desirable occurrence to our brave tars, as this frigate had for some time been in search of an American frigate, having given a formal challenge to all our vessels of the same class. She had at one of her mast-heads a flag, on which her name was inscribed in large characters, by way of gasconade, and on

another, the words "Not the Little Belt," in allusion to the broadsides which the President had given that vessel before the war. The Guerriere had looked into several of our ports, and affected to be exceedingly anxious to earn the first laurel from the new enemy. The Constitution being made ready for action, now bore down, her crew giving three cheers. At first it was the intention of Captain Hull to bring her to close action immediately; but on coming within gun-shot she gave a broadside and filled away, then wore, giving a broadside on the other tack, but without effect. They now continued wearing and manœuvring, on both sides, for three-quarters of an hour, the Guerriere attempting to take a raking position; but, failing in this, she bore up, and ran with her top-sail and jib on the quarter. The Constitution, perceiving this, made sail to come up with her. Captain Hull, with admirable coolness, received the enemy's fire without returning it. The enemy, mistaking this conduct on the part of the American commander, continued to pour out his broadsides with a view to cripple his antagonist. From the Constitution not a gun had been fired: Already had an officer twice come on deck, with information that several of the men had been killed at their guns. The gallant crew, though burning with impatience, silently awaited the orders of the commander. The moment so long looked for, at last arrived. Sailing-master Aylwin having seconded the views of the captain with admirable skill, in bringing the vessel exactly to the station intended, orders were given, at five minutes before 5 P. M., to fire broadside after broadside in quick succession. The crew instantly discovered the whole plan, and entered into it with all the spirit the circumstance was calculated to inspire. Never was any firing so dreadful. For fifteen minutes the vivid lightning of the Constitution's guns continued in one blaze, and their thunder roared with scarce an intermission. The enemy's mizen-mast had gone by the board, and he stood exposed to a raking fire, which swept his decks. The Guerriere had now become unmanageable; her hull, rigging and sails dreadfully torn; when the Constitution attempted to lay her on board. At this moment Lieutenant

Bush, in attempting to throw his marines on board, was killed by a musket-ball, and the enemy shot ahead, but could not be brought before the wind. A raking fire now continued for fifteen minutes longer, when his main-mast and fore-mast went, taking with them every spar excepting the bowsprit. On seeing this, the firing ceased, and at twenty-five minutes past five she surrendered. "In thirty minutes," says Captain Hull, "after we got fairly alongside of the enemy, she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull, above and below water, so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down." The Guerriere was so much damaged, as to render it impossible to bring her in; she was therefore set fire to the next day, and blown up. The damage sustained by the Constitution was comparatively of so little consequence, that she actually made ready for action, when a vessel appeared in sight the next day. The loss on board the Guerriere was fifteen killed and sixty-three wounded; on the side of the Constitution, seven killed and seven wounded. It is pleasing to observe, that even the British commander, on this occasion, bore testimony to the humanity and generosity with which he was treated by the victors. The American frigate was somewhat superior in force, by a few guns; but this difference bore no comparison to the disparity of the conflict. The Guerriere was thought to be a match for any vessel of her class, and had been amongst the largest in the British navy. The Constitution arrived at Boston on the 28th of August, having captured several merchant vessels.

Never did any event spread such an universal joy over the whole country. The gallant Hull, and his equally gallant officers, were received with enthusiastic demonstrations of gratitude wherever they appeared. He was presented with the freedom of all the cities through which he passed on his way to the seat of government, and with many valuable donations. Congress voted fifty thousand dollars to the crew as a recompense for the loss of the prize; and the Executive promoted several of the officers. Sailing-master Aylwin, who had been severely wounded, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant; and Lieutenant Morris, who had been also

wounded, was promoted to the rank of post-captain. This affair was not a little mortifying to Great Britain, who for thirty years had in no instance lost a frigate in any thing like an equal conflict. She was, however, destined soon to bear such mortifications very frequently, as this was the beginning of that series of glorious naval victories, which astonished the world, and compelled the greatest European powers to respect us on an element on which they had been accustomed to rule, often without much regard to the rights of our republic, the naval force of which had been treated with contempt. Such is the *justice* of tyrants, they respect *force* only, and that because they cannot avoid it. Captain Hull was an able officer, a good disciplinarian, and an honour to the American service.

CHAPTER IV.

Invasion of Canada—Achievements of Colonel Van Rensselaer.

"And made their routed squadrons feel
The temper of *American* steel."

Upon the declaration of war, the attention of the American general was turned towards the invasion of Canada; for which 8,000 or 10,000 men, and considerable military stores were collected at different points along the Canada line. Skilful officers of the navy were also despatched for the purpose of arming vessels on Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Champlain, to gain, if possible, the ascendency there, and to aid the operations of the American forces.

The American troops were distributed into three divisions. One under General Harrison, called the north-western army; a second under General Stephen Van Rensselaer, at Lewistown, called the army of the centre; and a third under the commander-in-chief, General Dearborn, in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg and Greenbush, called the army of the north.

Early on the morning of the 13th of October, 1812, a detachment of about 1000 men, from the army of the centre, crossed the river Niagara, and attacked the British at Queens-

town heights. This detachment, under the command of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, succeeded in dislodging the enemy; but not being reinforced by the militia from the American side, as was expected, they were ultimately repulsed, and were obliged to surrender. The British general, Brock, was killed during the engagement.

The forces designated to storm the heights, were divided into columns: one, of the 300 militia, under Colonel Van Rensselaer; the other, of the 300 regulars, under Colonel Christie: these were to be followed by Colonel Fenwick's artillery, and then the other troops in order.

Much embarrassment was experienced by the boats from the eddies, as well as by the shot of the enemy, in crossing the river. Colonel Van Rensselaer led the van, and landed first with 100 men. Scarcely had he leaped from the boat, when he received four severe wounds. Being, however, able to stand, he ordered his officers to move with rapidity, and storm the fort. This service was gallantly performed, and the enemy were driven down the river in every direction.

Both parties were now reinforced; the Americans by regulars and militia, the British by the forty-ninth regiment, consisting of 600 regulars, under General Brock. After a desperate engagement, the enemy were repulsed, and the victory was thought complete.

General Van Rensselaer now crossed over, for the purpose of fortifying the heights, preparatory to another attack, should the repulsed enemy be reinforced. This duty he assigned to Lieutenant Totten, an able engineer.

But the fortune of the day was not yet decided. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy, being reinforced by several hundred Chippewa Indians, rallied, and again advanced, but were a third time repulsed. At this moment, General Van Rensselaer, perceiving the militia on the opposite side embarking but slowly, hastily recrossed the river to accelerate their movements. But what was his chagrin, on reaching the American side, to hear more than twelve hundred of the militia positively refuse to embark. The sight of the engagement had cooled that ardour which, previously to the

attack, the commander-in-chief could scarcely restrain. While their countrymen were nobly struggling for victory, they could remain idle spectators of the scene. All that a brave, resolute, and benevolent commander could do, General Van Rensselaer did—he urged, entreated, commanded, but it was all in vain. Eight hundred British soldiers, from fort George, now appeared, and pressed on to renew the attack. The Americans, for a time, continued to struggle against this force, but were finally obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The number of American troops killed amounted to about sixty, and about one hundred were wounded. Those that surrendered themselves prisoners of war, including the wounded, were about seven hundred. The loss of the British is unknown, but it must have been severe.

Although the issue of this battle was unfortunate, seldom has American valour shone more conspicuously, or a victory been relinquished with more reluctance. Had but a small part of the "idle men" passed over at the critical moment when urged by their brave commander, revolutionary history can tell of few nobler achievements than this would have been.

CHAPTER V.

The Wasp captures the Frolic—Terrible Havoc on board the Frolic—Reception of Captain Jones in the United States.

"Palmam qui meruit ferat."

ANOTHER brilliant victory was achieved by an American vessel over an enemy greatly superior in force, and possessing many other advantages, in October.

Captain Jones was transferred, by the Secretary of the Navy, to the command of the sloop of war Wasp, mounting eighteen twenty-four pound carronades, in 1811, and was despatched, in the spring of 1812, with communications from our government to its ministers at the courts of St. Cloud and

St. James. Before he returned, war had been declared by the United States against Great Britain. Captain Jones refitted his ship with all possible despatch, and repaired to sea on a cruise, in which he met with no other luck than the capture of an inconsiderable prize. He again put to sea on the 13th of October, and on the 18th of the month, after a long and heavy gale, he fell in with a number of strongly armed merchantmen, under convoy of the British sloop of war the Frolic, Captain Whinyates.

As this engagement has been one of the most decidedly honourable to the American flag, from the superior force of the enemy; and as the British writers, in endeavouring to account for our successes, and to undervalue our victories, have studiously passed this battle in silence, and seemed anxious to elbow it into oblivion, this occasion is taken to republish a full and particular account of it, which we have every reason to believe is scrupulously correct:—

"A heavy swell was in the sea, and the weather was boisterous. The topgallant-yards of the Wasp were taken down, her topsails were close-reefed, and she was prepared for action. About 11 o'clock, the Frolic showed Spanish colours, and the Wasp immediately displayed the American ensign and pennant. At thirty-two minutes past eleven, the Wasp came down to windward, on her larboard side, within about sixty yards, and hailed. The enemy hauled down the Spanish colours, hoisted the British ensign, and opened a fire of cannon and musketry. This the Wasp instantly returned; and, coming nearer to the enemy, the action became close, and without intermission. In four or five minutes, the main-topmast of the Wasp was shot away, and, falling down with the main-topsail-yard across the larboard fore and fore-topsail braces, rendered her head yards unmanageable during the rest of the action. In two or three minutes more, her gaft and mizen-topgallant-sail were shot away. Still she continued a close and constant fire. The sea was so rough that the muzzles of the Wasp's guns were frequently in the water. The Americans, therefore, fired as the ship's side was going down, so that their shot went either on the enemy's deck or

below it, while the English fired as the vessel rose, and thus her balls chiefly touched the rigging, or were thrown away. The Wasp now shot ahead of the Frolic, raked her, and then resumed her position on the Frolic's larboard bow. Her fire was now obviously attended with such success, and that of the Frolic so slackened, that Captain Jones did not wish to board her, lest the roughness of the sea might endanger both vessels; but in the course of a few minutes more, every brace of the Wasp was shot away, and her rigging so much torn to pieces, that he was afraid that his masts, being unsupported, would go by the board, and the Frolic be able to escape. He thought, therefore, the best chance of securing her was to board, and decide the contest at once. With this view he wore ship, and running down on the enemy, the vessels struck each other, the Wasp's side rubbing along the Frolic's bow, so that her jib-boom came in between the main and mizen-rigging of the Wasp, directly over the heads of Captain Jones and the first Lieutenant, Mr. Biddle, who were at that moment standing together near the capstan. The Frolic lay so fair for raking, that they decided not to board until they had given a closing broadside. Whilst they were loading for this, so near were the two vessels, that the rammers of the Wasp were pushed against the Frolic's sides, and two of her guns went through the bow-ports of the Frolic, and swept the whole length of her deck. At this moment John Lang, a seaman of the Wasp, a gallant fellow, who had been once impressed by a British man-of-war, jumped on a gun with his cutlass, and was springing on board the Frolic; Captain Jones, wishing to fire again before boarding, called him down, but his impetuosity could not be restrained, and he was already on the bowsprit of the Frolic; when seeing the ardour and enthusiasm of the Wasp's crew, Lieutenant Biddle mounted on the hammock-cloth to board. At this signal the crew followed, but Lieutenant Biddle's feet became entangled in the rigging of the enemy's bowsprit, and the midshipman, Baker, in his ardour to spring on board, laying hold of his coat, he fell back on the Wasp's deck. He sprung up, and as the next swell of the sea brought the Frolic nearer, he

mounted her bowsprit, where Lang and another seaman were already. He passed them on the forecastle, and was surprised at not seeing a single man alive on the Frolic's deck, excepting the seaman at the wheel, and three officers. The deck was slippery with blood, and strewed with the bodies of the dead. As he went forward, the captain of the Frolic, with two other officers, who were standing on the quarter-deck, threw down their swords, and made an inclination of their bodies, denoting that they had surrendered. At this moment the colours were still flying, as, probably, none of the seamen of the Frolic would dare to go into the rigging for fear of the musketry of the Wasp. Lieutenant Biddle, therefore, jumped into the rigging, and hauled down the British ensign, and possession was taken of the Frolic in forty-three minutes after the first fire. She was in a shocking condition; the berth-deck, particularly, was crowded with the dead, wounded and dying; a small proportion of the Frolic's crew only had escaped. Captain Jones instantly sent on board his surgeon's mate; and all the blankets of the Frolic were brought from her slop-room for the comfort of the wounded. To increase this confusion, both the Frolic's masts soon fell, covering the dead and every thing on deck, and she lay a complete wreck.

"It now appeared that the Frolic mounted sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, four twelve-pounders on the main-deck, and two twelve-pound carronades. She was, therefore, superior to the Wasp by exactly four twelve-pounders. The number of men on board, as stated by the officers of the Frolic, was one hundred and ten—the number of seamen on board the Wasp was one hundred and two; but it could not be ascertained, whether in this one hundred and ten were included the marines and officers; for the Wasp had, besides her one hundred and two men, officers and marines, making the whole crew about one hundred and thirty-five. What is, however, decisive as to their comparative force, is, that the officers of the Frolic acknowledged that they had as many men as they knew what to do with, and in fact the Wasp could have spared fifteen men. There was, therefore, on the most favourable view, at least an equality of men, and an

inequality of four guns. The disparity of loss was much greater. The exact number of killed and wounded on board the Frolic could not be precisely determined; but from the observations of our officers, and the declarations of those of the Frolic, the number could not be less than about thirty killed, including two officers; and of the wounded, between forty and fifty, the captain and second-lieutenant being of the number. The Wasp had five men killed and five slightly wounded.

"All hands were now employed in clearing the deck, burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded, when Captain Jones sent orders to Lieutenant Biddle to proceed to Charleston, or any other southern port of the United States; and, as a suspicious sail was seen to windward, the Wasp would continue her cruise. The ships then parted. The suspicious sail was now coming down very fast. At first it was supposed that she was one of the convoy, who had all fled during the engagement, and who now came for the purpose of attacking the prize. The guns of the Frolic were therefore loaded, and the ship cleared for action; but the enemy, as she advanced, proved to be a seventy-four, the Poictiers, Captain Beresford. She fired a shot over the Frolic; passed her; overtook the Wasp, the disabled state of whose rigging prevented her from escaping; and then returned to the Frolic, which could, of course, make no resistance. The Wasp and Frolic were carried into Bermuda.

"On the return of Captain Jones to the United States, he was everywhere received with the utmost demonstrations of gratitude and admiration. Brilliant entertainments were given him in the cities through which he passed. The Legislature of his native State appointed a committee to wait on him with their thanks, and to express the "pride and pleasure" they felt in recognising him as a native of their State. In the same resolution, they voted him an elegant piece of plate, with appropriate engravings. The Congress of the United States, on motion of Mr. J. A. Bayard, of Delaware, appropriated $25,000, as a compensation to Captain Jones and his crew, for the loss they sustained by the recapture of

the Frolic. They also ordered a gold medal to be presented to the captain, and a silver one to each of his officers."

Various other marks of honour were paid by the legislatures and citizens of different States; but the most substantial testimony of approbation which he received, was the appointment to the command of the frigate Macedonian, captured from the British.

CHAPTER VI.

The Frigate United States captures the Macedonian—Battle fought—Generosity of the Americans to the Enemy—Story of an Eye-Witness.

"Look here, upon this picture, and on this."—*Hamlet.*

"This was the noblest Roman of them all."—*Julius Cæsar.*

If any doubt could still have been entertained of the ability of the republican navy to contend successfully with that of England, it was removed by the result of another engagement, which took place no long time afterwards, between two vessels of similar forcee to the Constitution and Guerriere. The frigate United States, Captain Decatur, sailed from Boston on the 8th of October, in company with the President, Congress, and Argus, and separated from them on the 13th. On the 25th, being in the vicinity of the Western Islands, she fell in with the British frigate Macedonian, of forty-nine guns and three hundred men; a vessel newly built, and in a perfect state of equipment. Being to windward, the latter had the advantage of choosing her distance; and, as the United States was, in a great part, armed with carronades, she was thus prevented from making use of a considerable portion of her force. In consequence of this circumstance, the action lasted an hour and a half; but when the American frigate was enabled to bring her opponent to close quarters, the engagement was soon terminated. The mizenmast and most of the spars of the Macedonian being shot away, she surrendered, with the loss of thirty-six killed, and sixty-eight wounded. That of the United States was only four killed and seven

wounded; among the former of whom was Lieutenant John Musser Funk. The damage sustained by the United States was not so great as to render it necessary for her to return to port; but it was deemed proper to accompany her prize into the United States, where both vessels arrived on the 4th of December.

An act of generosity and benevolence on the part of the brave tars of this victorious frigate deserves to be honourably recorded. The carpenter, who was unfortunately killed in the conflict with the Macedonian, had left three small children to the care of a worthless mother. When the circumstance became known to the brave seamen, they instantly made a contribution amongst themselves, to the amount of $800, and placed it in safe hands, to be appropriated to the education and maintenance of the unhappy orphans.

This engagement took place on Sunday, and the following account is given of it by an eye-witness on board the Macedonian, who was afterwards taken prisoner:

"The Sabbath came, and it brought with it a stiff breeze. We usually made a sort of a holiday of this sacred day. After breakfast it was common to muster the entire crew on the spar-deck, dressed as the fancy of the captain might dictate; sometimes in blue jackets and white trowsers, or blue jackets and blue trowsers; at other times in blue jackets, scarlet vests, and blue or white trowsers; with our bright anchor buttons glancing in the sun, and our black glossy hats ornamented with black ribbons on them. After muster, we frequently had church service read by the captain; the rest of the day was devoted to idleness. But we were destined to spend the Sabbath, just introduced to the reader, in a very different manner.

"We had scarcely finished breakfast, before the man at the mast-head shouted, 'Sail, ho!'

"The captain rushed upon deck, exclaiming, 'Mast-head, there!'

"'Sir!'

"'Where away is the sail?'

"The precise answer to this question I do not recollect, but the captain proceeded to ask, 'What does she look like?'

"'A square-rigged vessel, sir,' was the reply of the look-out.

"After a few minutes the captain shouted again, 'Mast-head, there!'

"'Sir!'

"'What does she look like?'

"'A large ship, sir, standing towards us!'

"By this time most of the crew were on deck, eagerly straining their eyes to obtain a glimpse of the approaching ship, and murmuring their opinions to each other on her probable character. Then came the voice of the captain, shouting, 'Keep silence, fore and aft!' Silence being secured, he hailed the look-out, who, to his question of 'What does she look like?' replied, 'A large frigate, bearing down upon us, sir.'

"A whisper ran along the crew, that the stranger ship was a Yankee frigate. The thought was confirmed by the command of 'All hands clear the ship for action, ahoy!' The drum and fife beat to quarters; bulkheads were knocked away; the guns were released from their confinement; the whole dread paraphernalia of battle was produced; and after the lapse of a few minutes of hurry and confusion, every man and boy was at his post, ready to do his best service for his country, except the band, who, claiming exemption from the affray, safely stowed themselves away in the cable-tier. We had only one sick man on the list; and he, at the cry of battle, hurried from his cot, feeble as he was, to take his post of danger. A few of the junior midshipmen were stationed below, on the berth-deck, with orders, given in our hearing, to shoot any man who attempted to run from his quarters.

"Our men were all in good spirits, though they did not scruple to express the wish that the coming foe was a Frenchman rather than a Yankee. We had been told by the Americans on board, that frigates in the American service carried more and heavier metal than ours. This, together with our

consciousness of superiority over the French at sea, led us to a preference for a French antagonist.

"The Americans among our number felt quite disconcerted at the necessity which compelled them to fight against their own countrymen. One of them, named John Card, as brave a seaman as ever trod a plank, ventured to present himself to the captain, as a prisoner, frankly declaring his objections to fight. That officer, very ungenerously, ordered him to his quarters, threatening to shoot him if he made the request again. Poor fellow! he obeyed the unjust command, and was killed by a shot from his own countrymen. This fact is more disgraceful to the captain of the Macedonian than even the loss of his ship. It was a gross and a palpable violation of the rights of man.

"As the approaching ship showed American colours, all doubt of her character was at end. 'We must fight her,' was the conviction of every breast. Every possible arrangement that could insure success, was accordingly made. The guns were shotted; the matches lighted; for, although our guns were all furnished with first-rate locks, they were also provided with matches, attached by lanyards, in case the lock should miss fire. A lieutenant then passed through the ship, directing the marines and boarders, who were furnished with pikes, cutlasses, and pistols, how to proceed, if it should be necessary to board the enemy. He was followed by the captain, who exhorted the men to fidelity and courage, urging upon their consideration the well-known motto of the brave Nelson, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' In addition to all these preparations on deck, some men were stationed in the tops, with small-arms, whose duty it was to attend to trimming the sails, and to use their muskets, provided we came to close action. There were also others below, called sail-trimmers, to assist in working the ship, should it be necessary to shift her position during the battle.

"My station was at the fifth gun on the main-deck. It was my duty to supply my gun with powder, a boy being appointed to each gun in the ship on the side we engaged, for this purpose. A woollen screen was placed before the en-

trance to the magazine, with a hole in it, through which the cartridges were passed to the boys; we received them there, and, covering them with our jackets, hurried to our respective guns. These precautions are observed to prevent the powder taking fire before it reaches the gun.

"Thus we all stood, awaiting orders, in motionless suspense. At last we fired three guns from the larboard side of the main-deck; this was followed by the command, 'Cease firing; you are throwing away your shot!'

"Then came the order to 'wear ship,' and prepare to attack the enemy with our starboard guns. Soon after this, I heard a firing from some other quarter, which I at first supposed to be a discharge from our quarter-deck guns; though it proved to be the roar of the enemy's cannon.

"A strange noise, such as I had never heard before, next arrested my attention; it sounded like the tearing of sails, just over our heads. This I soon ascertained to be the wind of the enemy's shot. The firing, after a few minutes' cessation, recommenced. The roaring of cannon could now be heard from all parts of our trembling ship, and, mingling as it did with that of our foes, it made a most hideous noise. By-and-by I heard the shot strike the sides of our ship; the whole scene grew indescribably confused and horrible; it was like some awfully tremendous thunder-storm, whose deafening roar is attended by incessant streaks of lightning, carrying death in every flash, and strewing the ground with the victims of its wrath: only, in our case, the scene was rendered more horrible than that, by the presence of torrents of blood which dyed our deck.

"Though the recital may be painful, yet, as it will reveal the horrors of war, and show at what a fearful price a victory is won or lost, I will present the reader with things as they met my eye during the progress of this dreadful fight. I was busily supplying my gun with powder, when I saw blood suddenly fly from the arm of a man stationed at our gun. I saw nothing strike him; the effect alone was visible; in an instant, the third-lieutenant tied his handkerchief round

the wounded arm, and sent the groaning wretch below to the surgeon.

"The cries of the wounded now rang through all parts of the ship. These were carried to the cockpit as fast as they fell, while those more fortunate men, who were killed outright, were immediately thrown overboard. As I was stationed but a short distance from the main hatchway, I could catch a glance at all who were carried below. A glance was all I could indulge in, for the boys belonging to the guns next to mine were wounded in the early part of the action, and I had to spring with all my might to keep three or four guns supplied with cartridges. I saw two of these lads fall nearly together. One of them was struck in the leg by a large shot; he had to suffer amputation above the wound. The other had a grape or canister-shot sent through his ankle; a stout Yorkshireman lifted him in his arms and hurried him to the cockpit. He had his foot cut off, and was thus made lame for life. Two of the boys stationed on the quarter-deck were killed. They were both Portuguese. A man, who saw one of them killed, afterwards told me that his powder caught fire and burnt the flesh almost off his face. In this pitiable situation, the agonized boy lifted up both hands, as if imploring relief, when a passing shot instantly cut him in two.

"I was an eye-witness to a sight equally revolting. A man named Aldrich had one of his hands cut off by a shot, and almost at the same moment he received another shot, which tore open his bowels in a terrible manner; as he fell, two or three men caught him in their arms, and, as he could not live, threw him overboard.

"One of the officers in my division also fell in my sight. He was a noble-hearted fellow, named Nan Kivell. A grape or canister-shot struck him near the heart; exclaiming, 'Oh! my God!' he fell, and was carried below, where he shortly after died.'

"Mr. Hope, our first-lieutenant, was also slightly wounded by a grummet, or small iron ring, probably torn from a hammock-clew by a shot. He went below, shouting to the men to fight on. Having had his wound dressed, he came up

again, shouting to us at the top of his voice, and bidding us fight with all our might. There was not a man in the ship but would have rejoiced had he been in the place of our master's mate, the unfortunate Nan Kivell.

"The battle went on. Our men kept cheering with all their might. I cheered with them, though I confess I scarcely knew for what. Certainly there was nothing very inspiriting in the aspect of things where I was stationed. So terrible had been the work of destruction around us, it was termed the slaughter-house. Not only had we several boys and men killed or wounded, but several of the guns were disabled. The one I belonged to had a piece of the muzzle knocked out; and when the ship rolled, it struck a beam of the upper deck with such force as to become jammed and fixed in that position. A twenty-four pound shot had also passed through the screen of the magazine, immediately over the orifice through which we passed our powder. The schoolmaster received a death-wound. The brave boatswain, who came from the sick boy to the din of battle, was fastening a stopper on a backstay, which had been shot away, when his head was smashed to pieces by a cannon-ball; another man, going to complete the unfinished task, was also struck down. Another of our midshipmen also received a severe wound. The unfortunate wardroom steward, who the reader will recollect attempted to cut his throat on a former occasion, was killed. A fellow named John, who, for some petty offence, had been sent on board as a punishment, was carried past me wounded. I distinctly heard the large blood-drops fall pat, pat, pat, on the deck: his wounds were mortal. Even a poor goat, kept by the officers for her milk, did not escape the general carnage; her hind-legs were shot off, and poor Nan was thrown overboard.

"Such was the terrible scene, amid which we kept on our shouting and firing. Our men fought like tigers. Some of them pulled off their jackets, others their jackets and vests; while some, still more determined, had taken off their shirts, and, with nothing but a handkerchief tied round the waistbands of their trowsers, fought like heroes. Jack Sadler,

whom the reader will recollect, was one of these. I also observed a boy, named Cooper, stationed at a gun some distance from the magazine. He came to and fro on the full run, and appeared to be as 'merry as a cricket.' The third-lieutenant cheered him along, occasionally, by saying, 'Well done, my boy, you are worth your weight in gold.'

"I have often been asked what were my feelings during this fight. I felt pretty much as I suppose every one does at such a time. That men are without thought when they stand amid the dying and the dead, is too absurd an idea to be entertained a moment. We all appeared cheerful, but I know that many a serious thought ran through my mind. Still, what could we do but keep up a semblance, at least, of animation? To run from our quarters would have been certain death from the hands of our own officers; to give way to gloom, or to show fear, would do no good, and might brand us with the name of cowards, and insure certain defeat; our only true philosophy, therefore, was to make the best of our situation, by fighting bravely and cheerfully. I thought a great deal, however, of the other world; every groan, every falling man, told me that the next instant I might be before the Judge of all the earth. For this, I felt unprepared; but being without any particular knowledge of religious truth, I satisfied myself by repeating again and again the Lord's prayer, and promising that if spared I would be more attentive to religious duties than ever before. This promise I had no doubt, at the time, of keeping; but I have learned since, that it is easier to make promises amidst the roar of the battle's thunder, or in the horrors of shipwreck, than to keep them when danger is absent, and safety smiles upon our path.

"While these thoughts secretly agitated my bosom, the din of battle continued. Grape and canister-shot were pouring through our port-holes like leaden rain, carrying death in their trail. The large shot came against the ship's side like iron hail, shaking her to the very keel, or passing through her timbers, and scattering terrific splinters, which did a more appalling work than even their own death-giving blows. The reader may form an idea of the effect of grape and

canister, when he is told that grape-shot is formed by seven or eight balls, confined to an iron, and tied in a cloth. These balls are scattered by the explosion of the powder. Canister-shot is made by filling a powder-canister with balls, each as large as two or three musket-balls; these also scatter with direful effect when discharged. What, then, with splinters, cannon-balls, grape, and canister poured incessantly upon us, the reader may be assured that the work of death went on in a manner which must have been satisfactory even to the King of terrors himself.

"Suddenly, the rattling of the iron hail ceased. We were ordered to cease firing. A profound silence ensued, broken only by the stifled groans of the brave sufferers below. It was soon ascertained that the enemy had shot ahead to repair damages, for she was not so disabled but she could sail without difficulty; while we were so cut up that we lay utterly helpless. Our head-braces were shot away; the fore and main-topmasts were gone; the mizen-mast hung over the stern, having carried several men over in its fall: we were in the state of a complete wreck.

"A council was now held among the officers on the quarter-deck. Our condition was perilous in the extreme; victory or escape was alike hopeless. Our ship was disabled, many of our men were killed, and many more wounded. The enemy would, without doubt, bear down upon us in a few moments; and, as she could now choose her own position, would, without doubt, rake us fore and aft. Any further resistance was, therefore, folly. So, in spite of the hot-brained lieutenant, Mr. Hope, who advised them not to strike, but to sink alongside, it was determined to strike our bunting. This was done by the hands of a brave fellow, named Watson, whose saddened brow told how severely it pained his lion heart to do it. To me it was a pleasing sight, for I had seen fighting enough for one Sabbath; more than I wished to see again on a week-day. His Britannic Majesty's frigate Macedonian was now the prize of the American frigate United States.

"Before detailing the subsequent occurrences in my history,

I will present the curious reader with a copy of Captain Carden's letter to the government, describing this action. It will serve to show how he excused himself for his defeat, as well as throw some light on those parts of the contest which were invisible to me at my station. My mother presented me with this document, on my return to England. She had received it from Lord Churchill, and had carefully preserved it for twenty years.

"'Admiralty Office, Dec. 29, 1812.

"'Copy of a letter from Captain John Surman Carden, late commander of his Majesty's ship the Macedonian, to John Wilson Croker, Esq.; dated on board the American ship United States, at sea, the 28th October, 1812:—

"'Sir,—It is with the deepest regret, I have to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's late ship, Macedonian, was captured on the 28th instant, by the United States ship United States, Commodore Decatur commander. The details are as follows:

"'A short time after daylight, steering N. W. by W., with the wind from the southward, in latitude 29° N., and longitude 29° 30′ W., in the execution of their lordships' orders, a sail was seen on the lee-beam, which I immediately stood for, and made her out to be a large frigate, under American colours. At nine o'clock, I closed with her, and she commenced the action, which we returned; but from the enemy keeping two points off the wind, I was not enabled to get as close to her as I could have wished. After an hour's action, the enemy backed and came to the wind, and I was then enabled to bring her to close battle. In this situation I soon found the enemy's force too superior to expect success, unless some very fortunate chance occurred in our favour; and with this hope I continued the battle to two hours and ten minutes; when, having the mizenmast shot away by the board, top-masts shot away by the caps, main-yard shot in pieces, lower masts badly wounded, lower rigging all cut to pieces, a small proportion only of the foresail left to the fore-yard,

all the guns on the quarter-deck and forecastle disabled but two, and filled with wreck; two also on the main-deck disabled, and several shot between wind and water; a very great proportion of the crew killed and wounded, and the enemy comparatively in good order, and who had now shot ahead, and was about to place himself in a raking position, without our being enabled to return the fire, being a perfect wreck and an unmanageable log; I deemed it prudent, though a painful extremity, to surrender His Majesty's ship; nor was this dreadful alternative resorted to till every hope of success was removed, even beyond the reach of chance; nor till, I trust their lordships will be aware, every effort had been made against the enemy by myself, and my brave officers and men; nor should she have been surrendered whilst a man lived on board, had she been manageable. I am sorry to say our loss is very severe; I find by this day's muster, thirty-six killed, three of whom lingered a short time after the battle; thirty-six severely wounded, many of whom cannot recover, and thirty-two slightly wounded, who may all do well; total, one hundred and four.

"'The truly noble and animating conduct of my officers, and the steady bravery of my crew, to the last moment of the battle, must ever render them dear to their country.

"'My first-lieutenant, David Hope, was severely wounded in the head, towards the close of the battle, and taken below, but was soon again on deck, displaying that greatness of mind and exertion which, though it may be equalled, can never be excelled. The third-lieutenant, John Bulford, was also wounded, but not obliged to quit his quarters; second-lieutenant Samuel Mottley, and he deserves my highest acknowledgments. The cool and steady conduct of Mr. Walker, the master, was very great during the battle, as also that of lieutenants Wilson and Magill of the marines.

"'On being taken on board the enemy's ship, I ceased to wonder at the result of the battle. The United States is built with the scantling of a seventy-four gun-ship, mounting thirty long twenty-four pounders (English ship-guns) on her main-deck, and twenty-two forty-two pounders, carronades,

with two long twenty-four pounders, on her quarter-deck and forecastle, howitzer guns in her tops, and a travelling carronade on her upper deck, with a complement of four hundred and seventy-eight picked men.

"'The enemy has suffered much in masts, rigging, and hull, above and below water. Her loss in killed and wounded I am not aware of; but I know a lieutenant and six men have been thrown overboard. JNO. S. CARDEN.

"'To J. W. CROKER, ESQ., Admiralty.'

"Lord Churchill sent the above letter, with a list of the killed and wounded annexed, to inform my mother that the name of her son was not among the number. The act shows how much he could sympathize with a mother's feelings.

"I now went below, to see how matters appeared there. The first object I met was a man bearing a limb, which had just been detached from some suffering wretch. Pursuing my way to the ward-room, I necessarily passed through the steerage, which was strewed with the wounded: it was a sad spectacle, made more appalling by the groans and cries which rent the air. Some were groaning, others were swearing most bitterly, a few were praying, while those last arrived were begging most piteously to have their wounds dressed next. The surgeon and his mate were smeared with blood from head to foot: they looked more like butchers than doctors. Having so many patients, they had once shifted their quarters from the cockpit to the steerage; they now removed to the ward-room, and the long table, round which the officers had sat over many a merry feast, was soon covered with the bleeding forms of maimed and mutilated seamen.

"While looking around the ward-room, I heard a noise above, occasioned by the arrival of the boats from the conquering frigate. Very soon a lieutenant, I think his name was Nicholson, came into the ward-room, and said to the busy surgeon, 'How do you do, Doctor?'

"'I have enough to do;' replied he, shaking his head thoughtfully; 'you have made wretched work for us!' These officers were not strangers to each other, for the reader will

recollect that the commanders and officers of these two frigates had exchanged visits when we were lying at Norfolk, some months before.

"I now set to work to render all the aid in my power to the sufferers. Our carpenter, named Reed, had his leg cut off. I helped to carry him to the ward-room; but he soon breathed out his life there; then I assisted in throwing his mangled remains overboard. We got out the cots as fast as possible, for most of them were stretched out on the gory deck. One poor fellow, who lay with a broken thigh, begged me to give him water. I gave him some. He looked unutterable gratitude, drank and died. It was with exceeding difficulty I moved through the steerage, it was so covered with mangled men, and so slippery with streams of blood. There was a poor boy there crying as if his heart would break; he had been servant to the bold boatswain, whose head was dashed to pieces. Poor boy! he felt that he had lost a friend. I tried to comfort him by reminding him that he ought to be thankful for having escaped death himself.

"Here, also, I met one of the messmates, who showed the utmost joy at seeing me alive, for, he said, he had heard that I was killed. He was looking up his messmates, which he said was always done by sailors. We found two of our mess wounded; one was the Swede, Lagholm, who fell overboard, as mentioned in a former chapter, and was nearly lost. We held him while the surgeon cut off his leg above the knee. The task was most painful to behold, the surgeon using his knife and saw on human flesh and bones, as freely as the butcher at the shambles does on the carcass of the beast! Our other messmate suffered still more than the Swede; he was sadly mutilated about the legs and thighs with splinters. Such scenes of suffering as I saw in that ward-room, I hope never to witness again. Could the civilized world behold them as they were, and as they often are, infinitely worse than on that occasion, it seems to me they would forever put down the barbarous practices of war by universal consent.

"Most of our officers and men were taken on board the victor ship. I was left, with a few others, to take care of the

wounded. My master, the sailing-master, was also among the officers who continued in their ship. Most of the men who remained were unfit for any service, having broken into the spirit-room and made themselves drunk; some of them broke into the purser's room and helped themselves to clothing; while others, by previous agreement, took possession of their dead messmates' property. For my own part, I was content to help myself to a little of the officers' provisions, which did me more good than could be obtained from rum. What was worse than all, however, was the folly of the sailors in giving spirit to their wounded messmates, since it only served to aggravate their distress.

"Among the wounded was a brave fellow named Wells. After the surgeon had amputated and dressed his arm, he walked about in fine spirits, as if he had received only a slight injury. Indeed, while under the operation, he manifested a similar heroism—observing to the surgeon, 'I have lost my arm in the service of my country; but I don't mind it, Doctor, it's the fortune of war.' Cheerful and gay as he was, he soon died. His companions gave him rum; he was attacked by fever and died: thus his messmates actually killed him with kindness.

"We had all sorts of dispositions and temperaments among our crew. To me it was a matter of great interest to watch their various manifestations. Some who had lost their messmates appeared to care nothing about it, while others were grieving with all the tenderness of women; of these, was the survivor of two seamen, who had formerly been soldiers in the same regiment; he bemoaned the loss of his comrade with expressions of the profoundest grief. There were, also, two boatswain's mates, named Adams and Brown, who had been messmates for several years in the same ship. Brown was killed, or so wounded that he died soon after the battle. It was really a touching spectacle to see the rough, hardy features of the brave old sailor streaming with tears, as he picked out the dead body of his friend from among the wounded, and gently carried it to the ship's side, saying to the inanimate form he bore, 'O, Bill, we have sailed together

in a number of ships, we have been in many gales and some battles, but this is the worst day I have seen! We must now part!' Here he dropped the body into the deep, and then, a fresh torrent of tears streaming over his weather-beaten face, he added, 'I can do no more for you. Farewell! God be with you!' Here was an instance of genuine friendship, worth more than the heartless professions of thousands, who, in the fancied superiority of their elevated position in the social circle, will deign nothing but a silly sneer at this record of a sailor's grief.

"The circumstance was rather a singular one, that in both the contending frigates the second boatswain's mate bore the name of William Brown, and that they both were killed; yet such was the fact.

"The great number of the wounded kept our surgeon and his mate busily employed at their horrid work until late at night; and it was a long time before they had much leisure. I remember passing around the ship the day after the battle; coming to a hammock, I found some one in it, apparently asleep. I spoke; he made no answer. I looked into the hammock; he was dead. My messmates coming up, we threw the corpse overboard; that was no time for useless ceremony. The man had probably crawled to his hammock the day before, and, not being perceived in the general distress, bled to death! O, War! who can reveal thy miseries!

"When the crew of the United States first boarded our frigate, to take possession of her as their prize, our men, heated with the fury of the battle, exasperated with the sight of their dead and wounded shipmates, and rendered furious by the rum they had obtained from the spirit-room, felt and exhibited some disposition to fight their captors. But after the confusion had subsided, and part of our men were snugly stowed away in the American ship, and the remainder found themselves kindly used in their own, the utmost good feeling began to prevail. We took hold and cleansed the ship, using hot vinegar to take out the scent of the blood that had dyed the white of our planks with crimson. We also took hold and aided in fitting our disabled frigate for her voyage. This

being accomplished, both ships sailed in company toward the American coast.

"I soon felt myself perfectly at home with the American seamen; so much so, that I chose to mess with them. My shipmates also participated in similar feelings, in both ships. All idea that we had been trying to shoot out each other's brains so shortly before, seemed forgotten. We ate together, drank together, joked, sung, laughed, told yarns; in short, a perfect union of ideas, feelings, and purposes, seemed to exist among all hands.

"A corresponding state of unanimity existed, I was told, among the officers. Commodore Decatur showed himself to be a gentleman as well as a hero in his treatment of the officers of the Macedonian. When Captain Carden offered his sword to the commodore, remarking as he did so, 'I am an undone man; I am the first British naval officer that has struck his flag to an American:" the noble commodore either refused to receive the sword, or immediately returned it, smiling as he said, 'You are mistaken, sir; your Guerriere has been taken by us, and the flag of a frigate was struck before yours.' This somewhat revived the spirits of the old captain; but, no doubt, he still felt his soul stung with shame and mortification at the loss of his ship. Participating as he did in the haughty spirit of the British aristocracy, it was natural for him to feel galled and wounded to the quick, in the position of a conquered man."

CHAPTER VII.

Captain Bainbridge—Constitution captures the British Ship of War Java—British Commander killed—Strange Conjectures as to the Causes of the Success of the Americans.

"The hearts of his brethren, with gratitude burning,
Shall beat to the numbers which welcome the brave."

ANOTHER brilliant victory distinguished the close of the year, and added additional lustre to the American navy, which had already astonished the world generally, and Great

Britain particularly, who began to inquire into the *causes* of their defeats.

After the return of the frigate Constitution to Boston, Captain Hull resigned the command for the purpose of attending to his private concerns, and was succeeded by Captain William Bainbridge. Accompanied by the sloop of war Hornet, the Constitution sailed, towards the end of October, on a cruise to the coast of South America. On the 29th of December, after parting with the Hornet, which was left to blockade a sloop of war of equal force, and while near the Brazils, two sails were discovered, one of which bore away, and the other stood for the American frigate. The enemy was soon discovered to be the British ship of war Java, of forty-nine guns, and preparations were made on both sides for action. At two P. M. the action commenced with great vigor, the enemy keeping at long-shot; but the fire of the Constitution was directed with so much precision, that the Java was soon disabled in her spars and rigging, and Captain Bainbridge having taken a position nearer to his opponent, her fire was completely silenced about four o'clock. Concluding that she had struck, he passed ahead to repair the rigging, but finding shortly afterwards that the British flag was still flying, he took a raking position on her bows, and was about to commence a destructive fire, when the enemy called out that he had surrendered. It was soon perceived that the Java had been fought with so much obstinacy that she was not in a condition to be preserved as a trophy of American victory, and Commodore Bainbridge, having removed her crew and stores, destroyed her on the succeeding day. The loss of this vessel was a severe blow to the British. She was commanded by Captain Lambert, an officer of merit and experience, who was unfortunately killed during the action, and had on board one hundred supernumerary seamen for the East India service, besides a lieutenant-general, and other officers, and contained also stores of immense value. The loss of men was exceedingly great; sixty were killed, and upwards of one hundred wounded; while on board the Constitution nine only were killed, and twenty-five were

wounded. The damage, however, received by the latter, and her decayed state, rendered it necessary for her to return to the United States. After landing her prisoners at St. Salvador, on parole, she arrived in Boston on the 8th of the succeeding month. In this, as well as all the preceding actions, the difference between the loss of men on board the vessels engaged was strikingly conspicuous. In none of the engagements between the English and their European antagonists, had the disproportion been so manifest. The British writers, astonished at the result, accounted for it by supposing that riflemen were stationed in the tops of the American vessels, whereas in reality it is to be attributed to the great skill and experience in the art of firing possessed by the Americans of all classes, and the pains that had been taken to discipline them in the use of the great guns. If the bravery of the American seamen was conspicuous in these encounters, their generosity and humanity to their captives were not less strikingly evinced. The official letters of the British officers bore strong testimony to this fact; but while they acknowledged the delicacy and liberality of their enemy, they were not restrained in any one instance by similar feelings from exaggerating the force of the American and diminishing their own.

CHAPTER VIII.

Bloody Action at the river Raisin—Barbarity of British and Indians—Americans not buried—Exposed to beasts of prey.

"He feasts his soul on messages of woe."

JANUARY 22d, 1813, a bloody action was fought at the river Raisin, between a detachment from the North-Western army, exceeding seven hundred and fifty men, under General Winchester, and a combined force of British and Indians, amounting to one thousand five hundred men, under General Proctor. Many of the Americans were killed and wounded; among the latter was General Winchester. The remainder, on surrendering themselves prisoners of war, were nearly all inhu-

manly massacred by the Indians, contrary to the express stipulations of General Proctor.

The station of General Harrison, the commander of the North-Western army, was at this time at Franklinton. General Winchester was stationed at fort Defiance, half-way between fort Wayne, on the Miami, and Lake Erie, with eight hundred troops, chiefly young men of the first respectability, from Kentucky. Learning that a body of British and Indians was about to concentrate at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, he sent a detachment to protect that place. Before the arrival of the detachment, Frenchtown was occupied by a party of the enemy, but they were dislodged after a severe engagement, in which the Americans had twelve killed, and fifty-five wounded.

On the 20th, General Winchester joined the detachment at Frenchtown, with the remainder of his troops, and on the 22d the battle of Raisin was fought. After a desperate conflict, in which many on both sides were killed, the Americans surrendered, with the express stipulation of being protected from the Indians.

Contrary, however, to these stipulations, the savages were permitted to indulge their full thirst for blood. The tomahawk was mercilessly buried in many a bosom, and the scalping-knife wantonly tore the crown from many a head.

Even the last sad rites of sepulture were forbidden by their murderers, and the remains of these brave youth of Kentucky lay on the ground, beat by the storms of heaven, and exposed to the beasts of the forest, until the ensuing autumn, when their friends and relations ventured to gather up their bleaching bones, and consigned them to the tomb.

CHAPTER IX.

Captain Lawrence, of the Hornet, conquers the British Sloop of War Peacock —Action lasts only fifteen Minutes—Generosity of the Americans.

"O, strike up the harp to the warrior returning.
From the toils and the tempest of ocean's rough wave."

After blockading an English sloop of war of equal force, the United States ship Hornet was compelled, by the appearance of a seventy-four gun-ship, to take refuge in the harbour of St. Salvador, from which she escaped in the night, and continued her cruise. Off Demerara, on the 23d of February, her commander, Captain Lawrence, observed a large man-of-war brig standing towards him. The Hornet was immediately cleared for action; and at twenty-five minutes past five the engagement commenced within half pistol-shot, and was terminated in fifteen minutes by the surrender of the enemy, with six feet water in her hold. The prize proved to be the British sloop of war Peacock, of twenty guns and two swivels, with one hundred and thirty men. Her commander, Captain Peake, was killed at the close of the action. So severe had been the fire of the Hornet, that it was found impossible to keep the prize afloat until all her crew were removed, although the most strenuous exertions were made for that purpose. Nine of her crew, and three from the Hornet, who were generously endeavouring to save them, went down in her. The loss of the British in this action was very severe; of the Americans, only one was killed and two wounded. The humanity displayed by the crew of the Hornet, towards their prisoners, was as honourable to them as their bravery in battle. From the sudden removal of the latter, they were left destitute of suitable clothing; and the fact was no sooner made known to the American seamen, than they immediately divided with them their own equipment, while the public acknowledgments of the captured officers showed that they had received an equal share of generosity and liberality.

On his return to the United States, Captain Lawrence was

promoted to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, then lying in the harbour of Boston.

CHAPTER X.

Americans attack York, Capital of Upper Canada—Death of General Pike—Americans push forward and succeed.

"The news came like the falling of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods."

During the winter, which had now passed, Great Britain sent a number of troops to Halifax, and made considerable preparations for the defence of Canada. Similar preparations had been urged by the American government, with the hope of completing the conquest of that territory before the close of another campaign.

About the middle of April, the commander-in-chief, General Dearborn, determined to attack York, the capital of Upper Canada, the great depository of British military stores, whence the western posts were supplied. Accordingly, on the 27th, a successful attack was made, and York fell into the hands of the Americans, with all its stores.

The command of the troops, one thousand seven hundred, detached for this purpose, was given to General Pike. On the 25th, the fleet, under Commodore Chauncey, moved down the lake, with the troops from Sackett's Harbour, and, on the 27th, arrived at the place of debarkation, about two miles westward from York, and one and a half from the enemy's works. The British, consisting of about seven hundred and fifty regulars, and five hundred Indians, under General Sheaffe, attempted to oppose the landing, but were thrown into disorder, and fled to their garrison.

General Pike, having formed his men, proceeded towards the enemy's fortifications. On their near approach to the barracks, about sixty rods from the garrison, an explosion took place which killed about one hundred of the Americans, among whom was the gallant Pike.

Pike lived to direct his troops, for a moment thrown into disorder, "to move on." This they now did under Colonel Pearce; and, proceeding towards the town, took possession of the barracks. On approaching it, they were met by the officers of the Canada militia with offers of capitulation. At four o'clock the troops entered the town.

The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to seven hundred and fifty; the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, about three hundred.

During the remainder of the spring, the war continued along the Canada line, and on some parts of the sea-board; but nothing important was achieved by either power. The Chesapeake Bay was blockaded by the British, and predatory excursions, by their troops, were made at Havre-de-Grace, Georgetown, &c. Several villages were burnt, and much property plundered and destroyed. To the north of the Chesapeake, the coast was not exempt from the effects of the war. A strict blockade was kept up at New York. The American frigates United States and Macedonian, and the sloop Hornet, attempted to sail on a cruise from that port, about the beginning of May, but were prevented. In another attempt, they were chased into New London harbour, where they were blockaded by a fleet under Commodore Hardy, for many months. Fort George, in Canada, was taken by the Americans. Sackett's Harbour was attacked by one thousand British, who were repelled with considerable loss.

CHAPTER XI.

Loss of the Chesapeake—Terrible Carnage—Death of Lawrence—Buried at Halifax by the British with the Honours of War.

"Don't give up the ship."

On returning to this country, after his victorious career already recorded, Captain Lawrence was received with distinction and applause, and various public bodies conferred on him peculiar tokens of approbation. While absent, the rank

of post-captain had been conferred on him, and shortly after his return, he received a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, offering him the command of the frigate Constitution, provided neither Captains Porter nor Evans applied for it, they being older officers. Captain Lawrence respectfully declined this conditional appointment for satisfactory reasons, which he stated to the Secretary. He then received an unconditional appointment to that frigate, and directions to superintend the navy-yard at New York in the absence of Captain Ludlow. The next day, to his great surprise and chagrin, he received counter-orders, with instructions to take command of the frigate Chesapeake, then lying at Boston, nearly ready for sea. This appointment was particularly disagreeable to him. He was prejudiced against the Chesapeake, both from her being considered the worst ship in our navy, and from having been in a manner disgraced in the affair with the Leopard. This last circumstance had acquired her the character of an unlucky ship—the worst of stigmas among sailors, who are devout believers in good and bad luck; and so detrimental was it to this vessel, that it had been difficult to recruit crews for her.

The extreme repugnance that Captain Lawrence felt to this appointment, induced him to write to the Secretary of the Navy, requesting to be continued in the command of the Hornet: besides, it was his wish to remain some short time in port, and enjoy a little repose in the bosom of his family; particularly as his wife was in that delicate situation that most calls forth the tenderness and solicitude of an affectionate husband. But though he wrote four letters to the secretary, he never received an answer, and was obliged reluctantly to acquiesce.

While lying in Boston roads, nearly ready for sea, the British frigate Shannon appeared off the harbour, and made signals expressive of a challenge. The brave Lawrence immediately determined on accepting it, though conscious at the time of the great disparity between the two ships. The Shannon was a prime vessel, equipped in an extraordinary manner, for the express purpose of combating advantageously

one of our largest frigates. She had an unusually numerous crew of picked men, thoroughly disciplined and well officered. She was commanded by Captain Broke, one of the bravest and ablest officers in the service, who fought merely for reputation.

On the other hand, the Chesapeake was an indifferent ship, with a crew, a great part of whom were newly recruited, and not brought into a proper discipline. They were strangers to their commander, who had not had time to produce that perfect subordination, yet strong personal attachment, which he had the talent of creating wherever he commanded. His first-lieutenant was sick on shore; the other officers, though meritorious, were young men; two of them mere acting lieutenants; most of them recently appointed to the ship, and unacquainted with the men.

The most earnest endeavours were used, by Commodore Bainbridge and other gentlemen, to dissuade Captain Lawrence from what was considered a rash and unnecessary exposure. He felt and acknowledged the force of their reasons, but persisted in his determination. He was peculiarly situated: he had formerly challenged the Bonne Citoyenne, and should he decline a similar challenge, it might subject him to sneers and misrepresentations. Among the other unfortunate circumstances that attended this ill-starred battle, was the delay of a written challenge from Captain Broke, which did not arrive until after Captain Lawrence had sailed. It is stated to have been couched in the most bland and courteous language; minutely detailing the force of his ship; and offering, if the Chesapeake should not be completely prepared, to cruise off and on till such time as she made a specified signal of being ready for the conflict. It is to be deeply regretted that Captain Lawrence did not receive that gallant challenge, as it would have given him time to put his ship in proper order, and spared him the necessity of hurrying out in his unprepared condition, to so formal and momentous an encounter.

After getting the ship under way, he called the crew together, and having ordered the white flag to be hoisted, bearing

the motto, "Free trade and sailors' rights," he, according to custom, made them a short harangue. While he was speaking, several murmurs were heard, and strong symptoms of dissatisfaction appeared in the manners and countenances of the crew. After he had finished, a scoundrel Portuguese, who was boatswain's-mate, and acted as spokesman to the murmurers, replied to Captain Lawrence in an insolent manner, complaining, among other things, that they had not been paid their prize-money, which had been due for some time past.

The critical nature of the moment, and his ignorance of the dispositions and characters of his crew, would not allow Captain Lawrence to notice such dastardly and mutinous conduct in the manner it deserved. He dared not thwart the humours of men, over whose affections he had not had time to acquire any influence; he therefore ordered the purser to take them below and give them checks for their prize-money, which was accordingly done.

It was on the morning of the 1st of June that the Chesapeake put to sea. The Shannon, on seeing her come out, bore away, and the other followed. At 4 P. M. the Chesapeake hauled up and fired a gun; the Shannon then hove-to. The vessels manœuvred in silence till within pistol-shot, when the Shannon opened her fire, and both vessels, almost at the same moment, poured forth tremendous broadsides. The execution in both ships was terrible, but the fire of the Shannon was peculiarly fatal, not only making great slaughter among the men, but cutting down some of the most valuable officers. The very first shot killed Mr. White, sailing-master of the Chesapeake, an excellent officer, whose loss at such a moment was disastrous in the extreme. The fourth-lieutenant, Mr. Ballard, received also a mortal wound in this broadside, and at the same moment Captain Lawrence was shot through the leg with a musket-ball; he however supported himself on the companion-way and continued to give his orders with his usual coolness. About three broadsides were exchanged, which, from the closeness of the ships, were dreadfully destructive. The Chesapeake had three men shot from her helm successively, each taking it as the other fell; this of course

produced irregularity in the steering, and the consequence was, that her anchor caught in one of the Shannon's after-ports. She was thus in a position where her guns could not be brought to bear upon the enemy, while the latter was enabled to fire raking shots from her foremost guns, which swept the upper decks of the Chesapeake, killing or wounding the greater portion of the men. A hand-grenade was thrown on the quarter-deck, which set fire to some musket-cartridges, but did no other damage.

In this state of carnage and exposure, about twenty of the Shannon's men, seeing a favourable opportunity for boarding, without waiting for orders, jumped on the deck of the Chesapeake. Captain Lawrence had scarcely time to call his boarders, when he received a second and mortal wound from a musket-ball, which lodged in his intestines. Lieutenant Cox, who commanded the second division, rushed up at the call for the boarders, but came just in time to receive his falling commander. He was in the act of carrying him below, when Captain Broke, accompanied by his first-lieutenant, and followed by his regular boarders, sprung on board the Chesapeake. The brave Lawrence saw the overwhelming danger; his last words, as he was borne bleeding from the deck, were, "Don't give up the ship!"

Samuel Livermore, Esq., of Boston, who, from personal attachment to Captain Lawrence, had accompanied him in this cruise as chaplain, attempted to revenge his fall. He shot at Captain Broke, but missed him: the latter made a cut at his head, which Livermore warded off; but, in so doing, received a severe wound in the arm. The only officer that now remained on the upper deck was Lieutenant Ludlow, who was so entirely weakened and disabled by repeated wounds, received early in the action, as to be incapable of personal resistance. The comparatively small number of men, therefore, that survived on the upper decks, having no officer to head them, the British succeeded in securing complete possession before those from below could rally. Lieutenant Budd, who had commanded the first division below, being informed of the danger, hastened up with some men,

but was overpowered by superior numbers, and cut down immediately. Great embarrassment took place in consequence of the officers being unacquainted with the crew. In one instance, in particular, Lieutenant Cox, on mounting the deck, joined a party of the enemy, through mistake, and was made sensible of his error by their cutting at him with their sabres.

While this scene of havoc and confusion was going on above, Captain Lawrence, who was lying in the ward-room in excruciating pain, hearing the firing cease, forgot the anguish of his wounds; having no officer near him, he ordered the surgeon to hasten on deck, and tell the officers to fight on to the last, and never to strike the colours; adding, "they shall wave while I live." The fate of the battle, however, was decided. Finding all farther resistance vain, and a mere waste of life, Lieutenant Ludlow gave up the ship; after which, he received a sabre wound in the head, from one of the Shannon's crew, which fractured his skull, and ultimately proved mortal. He was one of the most promising officers of his age in the service, highly esteemed for his professional talents, and beloved for the generous qualities that adorned his private character.

Thus terminated one of the most remarkable combats on naval record. From the peculiar accidents that attended it, the battle was short, desperate, and bloody. So long as the cannonading continued, the Chesapeake is said to have clearly had the advantage; and had the ships not run foul, it is probable she would have captured the Shannon. Though considerably damaged in her upper works, and pierced with some shot-holes in her hull, yet she had sustained no injury to affect her safety; whereas the Shannon had received several shots between wind and water, and, consequently, could not have sustained the action long. The havoc on both sides was dreadful; but to the singular circumstance of having every officer on the upper deck either killed or wounded, early in the action, may chiefly be attributed the loss of the Chesapeake.

The two ships presented dismal spectacles after the battle.

Crowded with the wounded and the dying, they resembled floating hospitals, sending forth groans at every roll. The brave Broke lay delirious from a wound in the head, which he is said to have received while endeavouring to prevent the slaughter of some of our men who had surrendered. In his rational intervals, he always spoke in the highest terms of the courage and skill of Lawrence, and the "gallant and masterly style" in which he brought the Chesapeake into action.

The wounds of Captain Lawrence rendered it impossible to remove him after the battle, and his cabin being very much shattered, he remained in the ward-room. Here he lay, attended by his own surgeon, and surrounded by his brave and suffering officers. He made no comment, nor indeed was he heard to utter a word, except to make such simple requests as his necessities required. In this way he lingered through four days, in extreme bodily pain, and then expired.

His body was wrapped in the colours of his ship, and buried by the British at Halifax, with the honours of war. Thence it was removed by his friends to Salem, in Massachusetts, where it received the most particular respect, and was again removed to the city of New York, where it was buried with the honours of war.

At the time of his death, he was but thirty-two years old, nearly sixteen of which had been honourably expended in the service of his country. He was a disciplinarian of the highest order, producing perfect obedience and subordination without severity. His men became zealously devoted to him, and ready to do through affection what severity would have never compelled. He was scrupulously correct in his principles, delicate in his sense of honour; and to his extreme jealousy of reputation he fell a victim, in daring an ill-matched encounter, which prudence would have justified him in declining. In battle, where his lofty and commanding person made him conspicuous, the calm, collected courage, and elevated tranquillity which he maintained in the midst of peril, imparted a confidence to every bosom. In the hour of victory he was moderate and unassuming; towards the vanquished he was gentle, generous, and humane.

CHAPTER XII.

Capture of the United States Sloop Argus—Carried to England, where her Commander died.

"When sorrows come, they come not single spies,
But in battalions!"—*Hamlet.*

THE intelligence of the capture of the Chesapeake was received in England with great rejoicing. The victory of Captain Broke was considered as establishing the maritime superiority of that nation, which preceding events had somewhat shaken, and the honours showered upon that officer evinced the light in which it was viewed. The result of another engagement, which took place not long afterwards, tended to confirm this impression. The United States sloop of war Argus, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain William Henry Allen, being on a cruise in the British channel, fell in with the British sloop of war Pelican, of somewhat superior force, which had been fitted out expressly for the purpose of engaging her. The action, which took place on the 14th of August, was maintained for an hour and a half with great ardour on both sides, when the captain and first-lieutenant of the Argus being severely wounded, and many of her seamen disabled, her rigging shot away, and the enemy about to board, her flag was struck by the remaining officers. She was carried into England, where her commander shortly afterwards died. He had been first-lieutenant of the United States at the capture of the Macedonian, and bore a high character in the naval service.

CHAPTER XIII.

Capture of the Boxer by the Enterprise—Death of their respective Commanders—Capture of the Dominica by the Privateer Decatur—Cruise of the President.

"The wounds he received, for his country contending,
The hardships endured—shall they e'er be forgot?"

THE tide of success appeared now to set in favour of the British; but shortly after the capture of the Argus, an en-

gagement took place which added fresh honour to the American flag. The United States brig Enterprise, of sixteen guns, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of September. On the 4th, a vessel of war was discovered, which stood for her, having four ensigns hoisted. After a warm action of forty minutes, the enemy ceased firing, and surrendered. She proved to be the British armed brig Boxer, of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Blythe, who was killed early in the action. She was admirably prepared for the contest, and her colours were nailed to the mast previous to the engagement. The gallant commander of the Enterprise received a mortal wound about the same time that his antagonist fell, but refused to quit the deck until the sword of the British commander was brought to him, when, clasping it in his hands, he exclaimed, "I die contented," and soon afterwards expired. The bodies of the two commanders were interred at Portland at the same time, with every mark of respect that can be shown to the remains of brave and honourable men.

The private armed vessels of the United States continued, during this year, to harass the commerce of the enemy, and carried into every quarter of the globe proofs of American skill and enterprise. Perhaps no instance in the annals of national warfare can be pointed out of a more desperate action than that fought by the privateer Decatur, of seven guns and one hundred and three men, with the British government schooner Dominica, of fifteen guns and eighty-eight men. After a well-sustained action of two hours, the latter was carried by boarding. The combat was maintained on her deck for a considerable time, when her captain and most of her officers and crew being disabled, her colours were struck by the crew of the Decatur. It is proper to add, that the crew of the Dominica fought with uncommon bravery and firmness. Sixty men, and every officer, with the exception of the surgeon and one midshipman, were killed or wounded.

The enterprise of Commodore Rodgers was displayed in a cruise of five months, in the frigate President, which terminated on the 26th of September, without any material suc-

cess. The United States and Macedonian had lain in the harbour of New York until the beginning of May, without being able to get to sea. About that period they made an ineffectual attempt to pass the blockading squadron, in company with the sloop of war Hornet. The vigilance of the enemy (whose superior force rendered any contest hopeless) obliged them to put into the port of New London, where they were compelled to continue during the remainder of the war.

CHAPTER XIV.

Preparations on Lake Erie—Perry's gallant Conduct—His brilliant Victory—Importance of this Victory to America—Official Account of the Battle—Cooper's Account of it.

"When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war."

"We have met the enemy, and they are ours."

"Fill high the cup;
And let the kettle to the trumpet speak,
The trumpet to the cannoneer without,
The cannon to the heavens—the heaven to earth."

During these occurrences on the sea-board, important preparations had been made for decisive measures to the westward, and the general attention was now turned, with great anxiety, towards the movements of the North-western army, and the fleet under command of Commodore Perry, on lake Erie.

This anxiety, not long after, was, in a measure, dispelled by a decisive victory of the American fleet over that of the British, on lake Erie, achieved, after a long and desperate conflict, on the 10th of September.

The necessity of possessing a strong force on lake Erie, had been strenuously urged to the government by General Hull, even before the declaration of war; and it was evident to the meanest apprehensions, that it would be difficult to retain the position at Detroit, and much more to attempt the

invasion of Canada, with any prospect of success, while the enemy had command of its waters. There appears, nevertheless, to have been a very censurable neglect on the part of the administration, in not taking measures sufficiently early to effect this purpose. The earnest representations of General Harrison, however, at length awakened them to a proper sense of its necessity. In the month of March, the building of two brigs and several schooners was commenced at the port of Erie, under the direction of Captain Perry of the navy, and continued with great activity until the 20th of July, when the enemy's squadron appeared off the town, with an apparent intention of attacking it; but finding preparations made for defence, soon afterwards retired. The equipment of the vessels being completed, they were launched on the 2d of August, and buoyed over the bar in presence of, and without molestation from the enemy, who then returned to Malden, to await the completion of a large ship, then building. Having received his complements of sailors, and being joined by a company of infantry and some volunteers, who acted as marines, Commodore Perry sailed in quest of the British squadron, which he found lying in the harbour of Malden, augmented by the launching of their new vessel.

On the morning of the 10th of September, the enemy's vessels were discovered standing out of the port of Malden, with the wind in their favour. They consisted of—

	Guns.	Howitzers.	
Ship Detroit	19	2	Com. Barclay.
Queen Charlotte	17	1	Capt. Finnis.
Schr. Lady Prevost	13	1	Lieut. Buchan.
Brig Hunter	10	0	———
Sloop Little Belt	3	0	———
Chippewa	1	2 swivels	———

In all 63 guns, 4 howitzers, and 2 swivels. The American squadron was composed of—

	guns.	
Brig Lawrence	20	Com. Perry.
" Niagara	20	Capt. Elliott.
" Caledonia	3	Lieut. Turner.
Schr. Ariel	4	———
" Scorpion	2	———

	guns.	
Schr. Somers	2	2 swivels. ———
Sloop Trippe	1	———
" Tigress.....	1	———
" Porcupine.....	1	———

In all 54 guns 2 swivels.

At ten o'clock, the wind changed, so as to give the latter the weather-gage. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and bore down upon the enemy. At a few minutes before twelve, the action commenced by a heavy and well-directed fire upon the Lawrence, from the Detroit and Queen Charlotte, which she was unable to return, in consequence of possessing only carronades. The lightness of the wind preventing the remainder of the American squadron from getting up, she was compelled to sustain the fire of the enemy's vessels for upwards of two hours, when, having lost a great number of men, and most of her guns and rigging being disabled, it was evident she must soon surrender. The fate of the day appeared already decided, when Commodore Perry, with singular gallantry and enterprise, resolved upon a measure which retrieved his doubtful fortunes. Leaving his ship, (the Lawrence,) he passed in an open boat to the Niagara, which a lucky increase of wind had enabled Captain Elliott to bring up. The latter officer now volunteered to carry the smaller vessels into action, while Commodore Perry, with the Niagara, bore up and passed through the enemy's line, pouring into the ships on each side a most destructive fire. The American schooners and gun-boats, having soon afterwards got within a suitable distance, opened a heavy and well-directed cannonade upon their opponents, and, after a short contest, the whole British squadron surrendered.

The enemy, not having been able to take possession of the Lawrence, whose colours had been struck soon after Commodore Perry left her, she again hoisted them before the conclusion of the conflict.

Never was a victory more complete, and more glorious to the victors, than this. The American vessels were inferior in force to their opponents; the number of men on board the latter was greater; the American officers had never witnessed

the manœuvring of a squadron, while the British commander had acquired experience under the eye of Lord Nelson; and yet not one vessel of the enemy was left to bear the tidings of defeat. The surrender of the flag-ship of a squadron has in former engagements generally decided the fate of the battle; here, although it made the force of the enemy superior by thirty-three guns, it only served to animate the Americans to new and more desperate exertions. The result of the engagement was attributed by the British commander to a deficiency of competent seamen, to the unprecedented loss of officers on board the Queen Charlotte and Detroit, and to the superior weight of metal on board the American vessels. The loss of men, however, on each side, was pretty nearly equal. Of the British, three officers and thirty-eight men were killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded. Of the Americans, three officers and twenty-four men killed, and four officers and ninety-two men wounded. Among the wounded of the enemy, was Commodore Barclay, who was compelled to quit the deck of his vessel.

The following is the official account of the battle. Copy of a letter from Commodore Perry to the Secretary of the Navy.

"U. S. Schooner Ariel, Put-in-Bay, 13th Sept., 1813.

"Sir,—In my last I informed you that we had captured the enemy's fleet on this lake. I have now the honour to give you the most important particulars of the action. On the morning of the 10th inst., at sunrise, they were discovered from Put-in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under weigh, the wind light at S. W., and stood for him. At 10 A. M., the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward: formed the line and bore up. At 15 minutes before 12, the enemy commenced firing; at 5 minutes before 12, the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed at the Lawrence, I made sail and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow-line being soon shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding

the great exertions of the sailing-master. In this situation, she sustained the action upwards of two hours within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and the greater part of her crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honour of the flag. At half-past two, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the Niagara, gallantly into close action; I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the Niagara, the flag of the Lawrence come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At 45 minutes past two, the signal was made for "close action."—The Niagara being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop, from the larboard side, at half pistol-shot distance. The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well-directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and a schooner surrendered, a schooner and a sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

"Those officers and men who were immediately under my observation, evinced the greatest gallantry, and I have no doubt that all the others conducted themselves as became American officers and seamen. Lieutenant Yarnall, first of the Lawrence, although several times wounded, refused to quit the deck. Midshipman Forrest (doing duty as lieutenant) and sailing-master Taylor, were of great assistance to me. I

have great pain in stating to you the death of Lieutenant Brock, of the marines, and Midshipman Lamb, both of the Lawrence, and Midshipman John Clarke, of the Scorpion: they were valuable and promising officers. Mr. Hambleton, purser, who volunteered his services on deck, was severely wounded late in the action. Midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout, of the Lawrence, were severely wounded. On board of the Niagara, Lieutenants Smith and Edwards, and Midshipman Webster, (doing duty as sailing-master,) behaved in a very handsome manner. Captain Brevoort, of the army, who acted as a volunteer in the capacity of a marine officer, on board of that vessel, is an excellent and brave officer, and with his musketry did great execution. Lieutenant Turner, commanding the Caledonia, brought that vessel into action in the most able manner, and is an officer that in all situations may be relied on. The Ariel, Lieutenant Packet, and Scorpion, Sailing-master Champlin, were enabled to get early into action, and were of great service. Captain Elliott speaks in the highest terms of Magrath, purser, who had been despatched in a boat on service previous to my getting on board the Niagara; and, being a seaman, since the action has rendered essential service in taking charge of one of the prizes. Of Captain Elliott, already so well known to the government, it would be almost superfluous to speak. In this action he evinced his characteristic bravery and judgment, and, since the close of the action, has given me the most able and essential assistance.

"I have the honour to enclose you a list of the killed and wounded, together with a statement of the relative force of the squadrons. The captain and first-lieutenant of the Queen Charlotte, and first-lieutenant of the Detroit, were killed.—Captain Barclay, senior officer, and the commander of the Lady Prevost, severely wounded. Their loss in killed and wounded I have not yet been able to ascertain; it must, however, have been very great.

"Very respectfully, I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant, O. H. PERRY.

"The Hon. WILLIAM JONES, *Secr'y of the Navy.*"

The following account of this battle by Mr. Cooper, which led to a libel-suit and so much litigation, in which the author sustained himself, must be interesting to the reader. It will instruct while it gratifies his curiosity after hearing so much from it; and, as the author can have no objections to have it circulated, we give it entire.

"The manner in which the service commenced on the upper lakes, has been already mentioned, but it will connect the narrative to make a short recapitulation. It will be remembered that, late in the autumn of 1812, Lieutenant Elliott had been sent to the foot of Erie to contract for some schooners. He was soon after recalled to Ontario, and succeeded in command by Lieutenant Angus. Not long after the landing at Erie, Mr. Angus returned to the sea-board, and Lieutenant Pettigrew, for a short time, was in command. In the course of the winter, Captain O. H. Perry, then a young master and commander at the head of the flotilla of gun-boats, at Newport, Rhode Island, finding no immediate prospect of getting to sea in a sloop of war, volunteered for the lake service. Captain Perry brought on with him a number of officers, and a few men, and Commodore Chauncey gladly availed himself of the presence of an officer of his rank, known spirit and zeal, to send him on the upper lakes, in command, where he arrived in the course of the winter. From this time, until the navigation opened, Captain Perry was actively employed, under all the embarrassments of his frontier position, in organizing and creating a force, with which he might contend with the enemy for the mastery of those important waters. Two large brigs, to mount 20 guns each, were laid down at Presque Isle, and a few gun-vessels or schooners, were also commenced. The spring passed in procuring guns, shot, and other supplies, and, as circumstances allowed, a draft of men would arrive from below, to aid in equipping the different vessels. As soon as the squadron of Commodore Chauncey appeared off the mouth of Niagara, Captain Perry, with some of his officers, went to join it, and the former was efficiently employed in superintending the disembarkation of the troops, as has been already related. The fall of fort George

produced that of fort Erie, when the whole of the Niagara frontier came under the control of the American army.

"Captain Perry now repaired to his own command, and with infinite labour he succeeded in getting the vessels that had so long been detained in the Niagara, by the enemy's batteries, out of the river. This important service was effected by the 12th of June, and preparations were immediately commenced for appearing on the lake. These vessels consisted of the brig Caledonia, (a prize,) and the schooners Catherine, Ohio, and Amelia, with the sloop Contractor. The Catherine was named the Somers, the Amelia the Tigress, and the Contractor the Trippe. At this time, the enemy had a cruising force, under the orders of Captain Finnis, which consisted of the Queen Charlotte, a ship of between three and four hundred tons, and mounting 17 guns; the Lady Prevost, a fine warlike schooner, of about two hundred tons, that mounted 13 guns; the brig Hunter, a vessel a little smaller, of 10 guns, and three or four lighter cruisers. He was also building, at Malden, a ship of near five hundred tons measurement, that was to mount 19 guns, and which was subsequently called the Detroit.

"Contradictory accounts having been given of the sizes of these vessels, the writer feels it due to himself to mention his authorities. At the Navy Department is an appraisement of the prizes taken on lake Erie, made by two impartial and experienced captains, in conjunction with the celebrated builder Henry Eckford. With a view to compare the opinions of these gentlemen with those of others competent to judge, an officer, familiar with the vessels, now a captain, was desired to set down his recollections of the sizes of the six British vessels taken on lake Erie. In 'James's Naval Occurrences,' a work of no authority, certainly, in matters of opinion, is a table professing to contain the English statement of the same tonnage. As it is not improbable this document was derived from the public officers, we give the three as we found them.

	Appraisers.	Am. Officer.	James.
Detroit	near 500 tons	near 500	305
Queen Charlotte	about 400	380	280

	Appraisers.	Am. Officer.	James.
Lady Prevost.....	230	200	120
Hunter	180	150	74
Little Belt.....near	100	70	54
Chippeway near	100	70	32
	1510	1370	865

"It is proper to add, that the American officer consulted, knew nothing of the appraisement. The discrepancy between the American and English accounts may possibly be explained in the following manner. A vessel of war is measured for the purposes of estimating her cost, half the breadth of beam being assumed to be the depth of hold. The vessels on the lakes could scarcely be said to have holds; the American brigs, which, on the ocean, would have drawn 16 feet of water, drawing not more than half as much on the lakes. Consequently, the carpenter's work was essentially less on these vessels, than on those built for the ocean. The object of the measurement being to calculate the cost, it is not improbable that Mr. James has been furnished with an estimate of the tonnage by which the holds were actually measured, as is usual with vessels that have but one deck, a mode of calculating that would fully account for the difference.

"It was near the end of June, before Captain Perry was ready to sail from the outlet of lake Erie, for Presque Isle. There being no intention to engage the enemy, and little dread of meeting him in so short a run, as she came in sight of her port each vessel made the best of her way. The enemy had chosen this moment to look into Presque Isle, and both squadrons were in view from the shore at the same time, though, fortunately for the Americans, the English did not get a sight of them until they were too near the land to be intercepted. As the last vessel got in, the enemy hove in sight in the offing.

"The two brigs laid down in the winter, under the directions of Commodore Chauncey, had been launched towards the close of May, and were now in a state of forwardness. They were called the Lawrence and the Niagara. The schooners also were in the water, and Captain Perry, having all his vessels in one port, employed himself in getting them

ready for service, as fast as possible. Still various stores were wanting. There was a great deficiency of men, particularly of seamen, and Captain Perry and Mr. D. Turner were, as yet, the only commissioned sea-officers on the lake. The latter, moreover, was quite young in years, as well as in rank.

"Presque Isle, or, as the place is now called, Erie, was a good and spacious harbour; but it had a bar on which there was less than seven feet of water. This bar, which had hitherto answered the purposes of a fortification, now offered a serious obstruction to getting the brigs on the lake. It lay about half a mile outside, and offered great advantages to the enemy, did he choose to profit by them, for attacking the Americans while employed in passing it. So sensible was Captain Perry of this disadvantage, that he adopted the utmost secrecy in order to conceal his intentions, for it was known that the enemy had spies closely watching his movements.

"Captain Barclay had lately superseded Captain Finnis in the command of the English force, and for near a week he had been blockading the American vessels, evidently with an intention to prevent their getting out, it being known that this bar could be crossed only in smooth water. On Friday, the 2d of August, he suddenly disappeared in the northern board.

"The next day but one was Sunday, and the officers were ashore seeking the customary relaxation. Without any appearances of unusual preparation, Captain Perry privately gave the order to repair on board the respective vessels and to drop down to the bar. This command was immediately obeyed; and at about two P. M., the Lawrence had been towed to the point where the deepest water was to be found. Her guns were whipped out, loaded and shotted as they were, and landed on the beach; two large scows, prepared for the purpose, were hauled alongside, and the work of lifting the brig proceeded as fast as possible. Pieces of massive timber had been run through the forward and after ports, and when the scows were sunk to the water's edge, the ends of the tim-

bers were blocked up, supported by these floating foundations. The plugs were now put in the scows, and the water was pumped out of them. By this process, the brig was lifted quite two feet, though, when she was got on the bar, it was found that she still drew too much water. It became necessary, in consequence, to come-up everything, to sink the scows anew, and to block up the timbers afresh. This duty occupied the night.

"The schooners had crossed the bar, and were moored outside, and preparations were hurriedly made to receive an attack. About eight A. M. the enemy re-appeared. At this time, the Lawrence was just passing the bar. A distant, short, and harmless cannonade ensued, though it had the effect to keep the enemy from running in. As soon as the Lawrence was in deep water, her guns were hoisted in, manned as fast as mounted, and the brig's broadside was sprung to bear on the English squadron. Fortunately, the Niagara crossed on the first trial; and before night, all the vessels were as ready for service as circumstances would then allow. The enemy remained with his topsails to the mast half an hour, sullenly reconnoitring; he then filled, and went up the lake under a press of canvass.

"This occurred on the 4th of August, and on the 5th, Captain Perry sailed in quest of the enemy, having received on board a number of soldiers and volunteers. He ran off Long Point, and, sweeping the Canada shore for some distance, returned to Erie on the 8th. Taking in some supplies, he was about to proceed up the lake again, when intelligence arrived that the party sent from below, under Lieutenant Elliott, was at Cattaraugus, on its way to join the squadron. A vessel was immediately sent for this acceptable reinforcement. Shortly after its arrival, the commissions that had been made out some time previously, were received from below. By these changes, Mr. Elliott became a master and commander, and Messrs. Holdup, Packett, Yarnall, Edwards, and Conklin, were raised to the rank of lieutenants. Most of these gentlemen, however, had been acting for some months.

"The American squadron now consisted of the Lawrence

20, Captain Perry; Niagara 20, Captain Elliott; Caledonia 3, Mr. M'Grath, a purser; Ariel 4, Lieutenant Packett; Trippe 1, Lieutenant Smith; Tigress 1, Lieutenant Conklin; Somers 2, Mr. Almy; Scorpion 2, Mr. Champlin; Ohio 1, Mr. Dobbins; Porcupine 1, Mr. Senatt. On the 18th of August, it sailed from Erie, and off Sandusky, a few days later, it chased, and was near capturing one of the enemy's schooners.

"The squadron cruised for several days, near the entrance of the strait, when Captain Perry was taken ill with the fever peculiar to these waters, and, shortly after, the vessels went into a harbour, among some islands that lay at no great distance, which is called Put-in-Bay.

"Here a few changes occurred, Mr. Smith going to the Niagara, and Mr. Holdup to the Trippe; Mr. M'Grath went also to the Niagara, and Mr. Turner took command of the Caledonia. The Ohio was sent down the lake on duty.

"While in port, on this occasion, Captain Perry contemplated an attack on the enemy's vessels, by means of boats, and orders were issued, accordingly, to drill the people with muffled oars.

"The squadron was still lying at Put-in-Bay on the morning of the 10th of September, when, at day-light, the enemy's ships were discovered at the N. W. from the mast-head of the Lawrence. A signal was immediately made for all the vessels to get under way. The wind was light at S. W., and there was no mode of obtaining the weather-gage of the enemy, a very important measure with the peculiar armament of the largest of the American vessels, but by beating round some small islands that lay in the way. It being thought there was not sufficient time for this, though the boats were got ahead to tow, a signal was about to be made for the vessels to wear, and to pass to leeward of the islands, with an intention of giving the enemy this great advantage, when the wind shifted to S. E. By this change, the American squadron was enabled to pass in the desired direction, and to gain the wind. When he perceived the American vessels clearing the land, or about ten A. M., the enemy hove-to, in a line, with

his ship's heads to the southward and westward. At this time, the two squadrons were about three leagues asunder, the breeze being still at S. E., and sufficient to work with. After standing down, until about a league from the English, where a better view was got of the manner in which the enemy had formed his line, the leading vessels of his own squadrons being within hail, Captain Perry communicated a new order of attack. It had been expected that the Queen Charlotte, the second of the English vessels in regard to force, would be at the head of their line, and the Niagara had been destined to lead in, and to lie against her, Captain Perry having reserved for himself a commander's privilege of engaging the principal vessel of the opposing squadron; but it now appearing that the anticipated arrangement had not been made, the plan was promptly altered. Captain Barclay had formed his with the Chippeway, Mr. Campbell, armed with one gun on a pivot, in the van; the Detroit, his own vessel, next; and the Hunter, Lieutenant Bignall; Queen Charlotte, Captain Finnis; Lady Prevost, Lieutenant-Commandant Buchan; and Little Belt astern, in the order named. To oppose this line, the Ariel, of four long twelves, was stationed in the van, and the Scorpion, of one long and one short gun on circles, next her. The Lawrence, Captain Perry, came next; the two schooners just mentioned keeping on her weather-bow, having no quarters. The Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, was the next astern, and the Niagara, Captain Elliott, was placed next to the Caledonia. These vessels were all up at the time, but the other light craft were more or less distant, each endeavouring to get into her berth. The order of battle for the remaining vessels, directed the Tigress to fall in astern of the Niagara, the Somers next, and the Porcupine and Trippe, in the order named.

"In consequence of neither of the commanding officers having given his order of battle in his published official letter, it is difficult to obtain the stations of some of the smaller vessels. By some accounts, the Lady Prevost is said to have been between the Detroit and the Queen Charlotte, by others, the Hunter. The latter is believed to be the true statement.

On the other hand, some accounts place the Somers, and others the Tigress, next astern of the Niagara. The fact is immaterial, but the account which seems to be best authenticated, has been chosen.

"By this time the wind had got to be very light, but the leading vessels were all in their stations, and the remainder were endeavouring to get in as fast as possible. The English vessels presented a very gallant array, and their appearance was beautiful and imposing. Their line was compact, with the heads of the vessels still to the southward and westward; their ensigns were just opening to the air; their vessels were freshly painted, and their canvass was new and perfect. The American line was more straggling. The order of battle required them to form within half a cable's-length of each other, but the schooners astern could not close with the vessels ahead, which sailed faster, and had more light canvass, until some considerable time had elapsed.

"A few minutes before twelve, the Detroit threw a twenty-four pound shot at the Lawrence, then on her weather-quarter, distant between one and two miles. Captain Perry now passed an order by trumpet, through the vessels astern, for the line to close to the prescribed order, and soon after, the Scorpion was hailed, and directed to begin with her long gun. At this moment, the American vessels in line were edging down upon the English, those in front being necessarily nearer to the enemy than those more astern, with the exception of the Ariel and Scorpion, which two schooners had been ordered to keep well to windward of the Lawrence. As the Detroit had an armament of long guns, Captain Barclay manifested his judgment in commencing the action in this manner, and in a short time, the firing between that ship, the Lawrence, and the two schooners at the head of the American line, got to be very animated. The Lawrence now showed a signal for the squadron to close, each vessel in her station, as previously designated. A few minutes later the vessels astern began to fire, and the action became general but distant. The Lawrence, however, appeared to be the principal aim of the enemy, and before the firing had lasted

any material time, the Detroit, Hunter, and Queen Charlotte, were directing most of their efforts against her. The American brig endeavoured to close, and did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy. At this time, the support of the schooners ahead, which were well commanded and fought, was of the greatest moment to her, for the vessels astern, though in the line, could be of little use in diverting the fire, on account of their positions and the distance. After the firing had lasted some time, the Niagara hailed the Caledonia, and directed the latter to make room for the former to pass ahead. Mr. Turner put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continued to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel, keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow. The Niagara now became the vessel next astern of the Lawrence.

"The cannonade had the usual effect of deadening the wind, and for two hours there was very little air. During all this time, the weight of the enemy's fire was directed against the Lawrence; the Queen Charlotte, having filled, passed the Hunter, and closed with the Detroit, where she kept up a destructive cannonading on this devoted vessel. These united attacks nearly dismantled the American brig, besides producing great slaughter on board her. At the end of two hours and a half, agreeably to the report of Captain Perry, the enemy having filled, and the wind increasing, the two squadrons drew slowly ahead, the Lawrence necessarily falling astern and partially out of the combat. At this moment, the Niagara passed to the southward and westward, a short distance to windward of the Lawrence, steering for the head of the enemy's line, and the Caledonia followed to leeward.

"The vessels astern had not been idle, but, by dint of sweeping and sailing, they had all got within reach of their guns, and had been gradually closing, though not in the prescribed order. The rear of the line would seem to have inclined down towards the enemy, bringing the Trippe, Lieu-

tenant Holdup, so near the Caledonia, that the latter sent a boat to her for a supply of cartridges.

"Captain Perry, finding himself in a vessel that had been rendered nearly useless by the injuries she had received, and which was dropping out of the combat, got into his boat and pulled after the Niagara, on board of which vessel he arrived at about half-past two. Soon after, the colours of the Lawrence were hauled down, that vessel being literally a wreck.

"After a short consultation between Captains Perry and Elliott, the latter volunteered to take the boat of the former, and to proceed and bring the small vessels astern, which were already briskly engaged, into still closer action. This proposal being accepted, Captain Elliott pulled down the line, passing within hail of all the small vessels astern, directing them to close within half pistol-shot of the enemy, and to throw in grape and canister, as soon as they could get the desired positions. He then repaired on board the Somers, and took charge of that schooner in person.

"When the enemy saw the colours of the Lawrence come down, he confidently believed that he had gained the day. His men appeared over the bulwarks of the different vessels and gave three cheers. 'For a few minutes, indeed, there appears to have been, as if by common consent, a general cessation in the firing, during which both parties were preparing for a desperate and final effort. The wind had freshened, and the position of the Niagara, which brig was now abeam of the leading English vessel, was commanding, while the gun-vessels astern, in consequence of the increasing breeze, were enabled to close very fast.

"At forty-five minutes past two, or when time had been given to the gun-vessels to receive the order mentioned, Captain Perry showed the signal from the Niagara, for close action, and immediately bore up, under his foresail, topsails, and topgallant-sail. As the American vessels hoisted their answering flags, this order was received with three cheers, and it was obeyed with alacrity and spirit. The enemy now attempted to wear round, to get fresh broadsides to bear, in doing which, his line got into confusion, and the two ships

for a short time, were foul of each other, while the Lady Prevost had so far shifted her berth as to be both to the westward and to the leeward of the Detroit. At this critical moment, the Niagara came steadily down, within half pistol-shot of the enemy, standing between the Chippeway and Lady Prevost, on one side, and the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, on the other. In passing, she poured in her broadsides, starboard and larboard, ranged ahead of the ships, luffed athwart their bows, and continued delivering a close and deadly fire. The shrieks from the Detroit, proclaimed that the tide of battle had turned. At the same moment, the gun-vessels and Caledonia were throwing in close discharges of grape and canister astern. A conflict so fearfully close, and so deadly, was necessarily short. In fifteen or twenty minutes after the Niagara bore up, a hail was passed among the small vessels, to say that the enemy had struck, and an officer of the Queen Charlotte appeared on the taffrail of that ship, waving a white handkerchief, bent to a boarding-pike.

"As soon as the smoke cleared away, the two squadrons were found partly intermingled. The Niagara lay to leeward of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, and the Caledonia, with one or two of the gun-vessels, was between the latter and the Lady Prevost. On board the Niagara, the signal for close action was still aboard, while the small vessels were sternly wearing their answering flags. The Little Belt and Chippeway were endeavouring to escape to leeward, but they were shortly after brought-to by the Scorpion and Trippe; while the Lawrence was lying astern and to windward, with the American colours again flying. The battle had commenced about noon, and it terminated at three, with the exception of a few shots fired at the two vessels that attempted to escape, which were not overtaken until an hour later.

"In this decisive action, so far as their people were concerned, the two squadrons suffered in nearly an equal degree, the manner in which the Lawrence was cut up, being almost without an example in naval warfare. It is understood that when Captain Perry left her, she had but one gun on her

starboard side, or that on which she was engaged, which could be used, and that gallant officer is said to have aided in firing it in person, the last time it was discharged. Of her crew twenty-two were killed, and sixty-one were wounded, most of the latter severely. When Captain Perry left her, taking with him four of her people, there remained on board but fifteen sound men. The Niagara had two killed, and twenty-five wounded, or about one-fourth of all at quarters. The other vessels suffered relatively less. The Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, though carried into the hottest of the action, and entirely without quarters, had three men wounded; the Trippe, Lieutenant Holdup, (now Captain Holdup Stevens,) which, for some time, was quite as closely engaged, and was equally without quarters, had two men wounded; the Somers, Mr. Almy, the same; the Ariel, Lieutenant Packett, had one man killed, and three wounded; the Scorpion, Mr. Champlin, had two killed, one of whom was a midshipman; the Tigress, Lieutenant Conklin, and Porcupine, Mr. Senatt, had no one hurt. The total loss of the squadron was twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded, or altogether, one hundred and twenty-three; of whom twelve were quarter-deck officers. More than a hundred men were unfit for duty, among the different vessels, previously to the action, cholera morbus and dysentery prevailing in the squadron. Captain Perry himself, was labouring under debility, from a recent attack of the lake fever, and could hardly be said to be in a proper condition for service, when he met the enemy, a circumstance that greatly enhances the estimate of his personal exertions on this memorable occasion. Among the Americans slain were Lieutenant Brooks, the commanding marine officer, and Messrs. Lamb and Clarke, midshipmen; and among the wounded, Messrs. Yarnall and Forrest, the first and second-lieutenants of the Lawrence, Mr. Taylor, her master, and Messrs. Swartwout and Claxton, two of her midshipmen. Mr. Edwards, second-lieutenant of the Niagara, and Mr. Cummings, one of her midshipmen, were also wounded.

"For two hours, the weight of the enemy's fire had been

thrown into the Lawrence; and the water being perfectly smooth, his long guns had committed great havoc, before the carronades of the American vessels could be made available. For much of this period, it is believed that the efforts of the enemy were little diverted, except by the fire of the two leading schooners, a gun of one of which (the Ariel) had early bursted, the two long guns of the brigs, and the two long guns of the Caledonia. Although the enemy undoubtedly suffered by this fire, it was not directed at a single object, as was the case with that of the English, who appeared to think that by destroying the American commanding vessel, they would conquer. It is true that carronades were used on both sides, at an earlier stage of the action than that mentioned, but there is good reason for thinking that they did but little execution for the first hour. When they did tell, the Lawrence, the vessel nearest to the enemy, if the Caledonia be excepted, necessarily became their object, and, by this time, the efficiency of her own battery was much lessened. As a consequence of these peculiar circumstances, her starboard bulwarks were nearly beaten in; and even her larboard were greatly injured, many of the enemy's heavy shot passing through both sides; while every gun was finally disabled in the batteries fought. Although much has been justly said of the manner in which the Bon Homme Richard and the Essex were injured, neither of these ships suffered, relatively, in a degree proportioned to the Lawrence. Distinguished as were the two former vessels, for the indomitable resolution with which they withstood the destructive fire directed against them, it did not surpass that manifested on board the latter; and it ought to be mentioned, that throughout the whole of this trying day, her people, who had been so short a time acting together, manifested a steadiness and a discipline worthy of veterans.

"Although the Niagara suffered in a much less degree, twenty-seven men killed and wounded, in a ship's company that mustered little more than one hundred souls at quarters, under ordinary circumstances, would be thought a large proportion. Neither the Niagara nor any of the smaller vessels

were injured in an unusual manner in their hulls, spars, and sails, the enemy having expended so much of his efforts against the Lawrence, and being so soon silenced when that brig and the gun-vessels got their raking positions, at the close of the conflict.

"The injuries sustained by the English were more divided, but were necessarily great. According to the official report of Captain Barclay, his vessels lost forty-one killed, and ninety-four wounded, making a total of one hundred and thirty-five, including twelve officers, the precise number lost by the Americans. No report has been published, in which the loss of the respective vessels was given, but the Detroit had her first-lieutenant killed, and her commander, Captain Barclay, with her purser, wounded. Captain Finnis, of the Queen Charlotte, was also slain, and her first-lieutenant was wounded. The commanding officer and first-lieutenant of the Lady Prevost were among the wounded, as were the commanding officers of the Hunter and Chippeway. All the vessels were a good deal injured in their sails and hulls; the Queen Charlotte suffering most in proportion. Both the Detroit and Queen Charlotte, however, rolled the masts out of them, at anchor at Put-in-Bay, in a gale of wind, two days after the action.

"It is not easy to make a just comparison between the forces of the hostile squadrons, on this occasion. In certain situations the Americans would have been materially superior, while in others the enemy might possess the advantage in perhaps an equal degree. In the circumstances under which the action was actually fought, the peculiar advantages and disadvantages were nearly equalized, the lightness of the wind preventing either of the two largest of the American vessels from profiting by its peculiar mode of efficiency, until quite near the close of the engagement, and particularly favouring the armament of the Detroit; while the smoothness of the water rendered the light vessels of the Americans very destructive, as soon as they could be got within a proper range. The Detroit has been represented, on good authority, to have been both a heavier and stronger ship than either of

the American brigs, and the Queen Charlotte proved to be a much finer vessel than had been expected; while the Lady Prevost was found to be a large, warlike schooner. It was perhaps unfortunate for the enemy, that the armaments of the two last were not available under the circumstances which rendered the Detroit so efficient, as it destroyed the unity of his efforts. In short, the battle, for near half its duration, appears to have been fought, so far as efficiency was concerned, by the long guns of the two squadrons. This was particularly favourable to the Detroit and to the American gun-vessels; while the latter fought under the advantages of smooth water, and the disadvantages of having no quarters. The sides of the Detroit, which were unusually stout, were filled with shot that did not penetrate. The larboard side of the Detroit is stated to have had so many shot sticking in it, and so many mere indentations, that doubts have been suggested as to the quality of the American powder. It is probable, however, the circumstance arose from the distance, which, for a long time, was not within fair carronade range, especially with grape, or canister, over round shot.

"In the number of men at quarters, there could have been no great disparity in the two squadrons. Mr. Yarnall, the first-lieutenant of the Lawrence, testified before a court of inquiry, in 1815, that the brig to which he belonged had but 'one hundred and thirty-one men and boys, of every description' on board her, and that of these but one hundred and three were fit for duty in the action. The Niagara was nearly in the same state. A part of the crews of all the vessels belonged to the militia. Indeed, without a large proportion of volunteers from the army, the battle could not have been fought. The British were no better off, having a considerable proportion of soldiers on board their vessels, though men of that description were probably as efficient in smooth water, and under the actual circumstances, as ordinary sailors. Stress was laid, at the time, on the fact that a portion of the British crews were provincials, but the history of this continent is filled with instances in which men of that character have gained battles, which went to increase the renown of

the mother country, without obtaining any credit for it. The hardy frontier men of the American lakes are as able to endure fatigue, as ready to engage, and as constant in battle, as the seamen of any marine in the world. They merely require good leaders, and these the English appear to have possessed in Captain Barclay and his assistants.

"Captain Perry, in his report of the action, eulogised the conduct of his second in command, Captain Elliott, that of Mr. Turner, who commanded the Caledonia, and that of the officers of his own vessel. He also commended the officers of the Niagara, Mr. Packett of the Ariel, and Mr. Champlin of the Scorpion. It is now believed that the omission of the names of the commanders of the gun-vessels astern, was accidental. It would seem that these vessels, in general, were conducted with great gallantry. Towards the close of the action, indeed, the Caledonia, and some of the gun-vessels would appear to have been handled with a boldness, considering their total want of quarters, bordering on temerity. They are known to have been within hail of the enemy at the moment he struck, and to have been hailed by him. The grape and canister thrown by the Niagara and the schooners, during the last ten minutes of the battle, and which missed the enemy, rattled through the spars of the friendly vessels, as they laid opposite to each other, raking the English ahead and astern.

"Captain Perry was criticised, at the time, for the manner in which he had brought his squadrons into action, it being thought he should have waited until his line was more compactly formed, and his small vessels could have closed. It has been said, that 'an officer seldom went into action worse, or got out of it better.' Truth is too often made the sacrifice of antithesis. The mode of attack appears to have been deemed by the enemy judicious, an opinion that speaks in its favour. The lightness of the wind, in edging down, was the only circumstance that was particularly adverse to the American vessels, but its total failure could not have been foreseen. The shortness of the distances on the lake rendered escape so easy, when an officer was disposed to avoid a battle,

that no commander, who desired an action, would have been pardonable for permitting a delay on such a plea. The line of battle was highly judicious, the manner in which the Lawrence was supported by the Ariel and Scorpion being simple and ingenious. By steering for the head of the enemy's line, the latter was prevented from gaining the wind by tacking, and when Captain Elliott imitated this manœuvre in the Niagara, the American squadron had a very commanding position, of which Captain Perry promptly availed himself. In a word, the American commander appears to have laid his plan with skill and judgment, and, in all in which it was frustrated, it would seem to have been the effect of accident. There has never been but one opinion of the manner in which he redeemed his error, even admitting that a fault was made at the outset; the united movements of the Niagara and of the small vessels at the close of the action, having been as judicious as they were gallant and decisive. The personal deportment of Captain Perry, throughout the day, was worthy of all praise. He did not quit his own vessel, when she became useless, to retire from the battle, but to gain it; an end that was fully obtained, and which resulted in a triumph. A popular opinion, which is too apt to confound distinctions in such matters, usually attaches the idea of more gallantry to the mere act of passing in a boat from one vessel to another, during an action, than in fighting on a vessel's deck. This was the least of Perry's merits. Captain Elliott was much longer in the same boat, and passed nearly through the whole line twice; and Mr. M'Grath had left the Niagara for one of the other vessels, in quest of shot, before Captain Perry quitted the Lawrence. A boat also passed twice, if not three times, from the Caledonia to the Trippe in the height of the engagement, and others, quite likely, were sent from vessel to vessel. Captain Perry's merit was an indomitable resolution not to be conquered, and the manner in which he sought new modes of victory, when the old ones failed him. The position taken by the Niagara, at the close of the affair, the fact that he sought the best means of repairing his loss, and the motive with which he passed from vessel to vessel, constitute his

claims to admiration. There was, no doubt, a personal risk in all the boats, but there was personal risk everywhere on such an occasion.

"The British vessels appear to have been gallantly fought, and were surrendered only when the battle was hopelessly lost. The fall of their different commanders was materially against them, though it is not probable the day could have been recovered after the Niagara gained the head of their line and the gun-vessels had closed. If the enemy made an error, it was in not tacking when he attempted to wear, but it is quite probable that the condition of his vessels did not admit of the former manœuvre. There was an instant when the enemy believed himself the conqueror, and a few minutes even, when the Americans doubted, though they never despaired; but a moment sufficed to change their feelings, teaching the successful the fickleness of fortune, and admonishing the depressed of the virtue of perseverance.

"For his conduct in this battle, Captain Perry received a gold medal from Congress. Captain Elliott also received a gold medal. Rewards were bestowed on the officers and men generally, and the nation has long considered this action one of its proudest achievements on the water.

"The results of the victory were instantaneous and of high importance. The four smallest of the prizes were fitted as transports, and, the Lawrence excepted, the American squadron was employed in the same duty. The English had evacuated Detroit, and with it Michigan, and on the 23d of September, the squadron conveyed a body of 1200 men to the vicinity of Malden, in Upper Canada, of which place they took possession; and on the 27th, Captain Perry ascended to Detroit in the Ariel, and re-occupied that town, in conjunction with the army. A day or two later, Captain Elliott, with the Niagara, Lady Prevost, Scorpion, and Tigress, went into Lake St. Clair, to cut off the enemy's baggage. On the 2d of October, a part of the vessels assembled at the mouth of the Thames, with stores for the army, and, as the latter advanced, Captain Elliott ascended the stream, with the Scorpion, Porcupine, and Tigress, until he reached a point

where the banks of the river rendered it too hazardous to go any further, by exposing the vessels to the fire of the Indians. The battle of the Moravian Towns was fought on the 5th of the same month, when the savages received a severe rebuke, and nearly the whole of the right wing of the British army in the Canadas, laid down their arms on the field, under a charge of the American mounted volunteers. After this success, which placed most of the upper part of the province in the hands of the conquerors, the vessels were employed in bringing away the ammunition and other captured stores. October 18th, General Harrison and Captain Perry, the latter of whom had been present at the battle on shore, issued a joint proclamation, for the better government of the conquered territory, assuring to the people their ancient laws and usages, and the rights of property.

"On the 23d of October, the squadron transported the army of General Harrison to Buffalo, and on the 25th, Captain Perry resigned the command of the upper lakes to Captain Elliott, repairing himself to the sea-board. November 29th, this gallant and successful officer received the commission of a captain, which was dated on the day of the victory, and soon after he was appointed to the command of the Java 44, a new frigate, then fitting for sea at Baltimore. There is a letter on file in the Navy Department, in which Captain Perry, who had only been a commander about a year, expresses some doubts of the propriety of accepting this rank over the heads of his seniors, and his readiness to yield to their claims."

CHAPTER XV.

General Harrison directs his Forces against Detroit and Malden, in possession of the inhuman Proctor—The latter retreats, burning Malden—Rapid Pursuit of the Americans—Colonel Johnson engages the Enemy—Achieves a glorious Victory—Exposes himself to all the Dangers of the Field—Kills Tecumseh—Is carried from the Battle Ground covered with Wounds—Detroit falls into the Hands of the Americans.

"There was a speedy gathering then,
Of fiery youths and fearless men,
And mettled steeds;
Ne'er had fair Elkhorn's bloody shore
Beheld such gallant host before,
So fit for daring deeds;
Here was th' appointed rendezvous—
And one by one, and two by two,
Brave spirits, they came rushing in:
And when they saw what strife had been,
And stood where white men's precious blood
Had flow'd, and stain'd that gentle flood,
Each took that oath of vengeance dread
Late utter'd on the Indian's head."

After the victory just described, the Americans were masters of Lake Erie, but Detroit and Malden were in possession of the British general, Proctor. Against these, General Harrison, commander of the North-Western army, now resolved to direct his forces.

Colonel Johnson, with a body of Kentuckians, was despatched against Detroit. General Harrison with his troops repaired on board the fleet, and the same day reached Malden. The British general, however, destroyed Malden, and retired with his forces.

Finding Malden destroyed, Harrison next determined to proceed in pursuit of Proctor. On the 2d of October, with about two thousand five hundred men, selected for the purpose, he commenced a rapid march, and, on the 5th, reached the place where the enemy had encamped the night before. Colonel Johnson, who had joined General Harrison, was sent forward to reconnoitre the enemy, and soon returned with

the information that they had made a stand a few miles distant, and were ready for action.

The American troops were now formed in order of battle. The armies engaged, and, for a time, the strife raged with fury. Providence, however, gave to the Americans a decisive victory, and Detroit fell into their hands.

In this engagement, the loss of the British was nineteen regulars killed, fifty wounded, and about six hundred prisoners. The Indians left one hundred and twenty on the field. The loss of the Americans did not exceed fifty.

In this battle were engaged one thousand two hundred or one thousand five hundred Indians, led on by Tecumseh, a savage warrior, than whom the annals of history can scarcely boast a greater. Since the defeat of Harmer he had been in almost every engagement with the whites. On the opening of the late war, he visited various tribes, and, by his eloquence and influence, roused his countrymen to arms against the United States.

In addition to the above, we would give the following excellent description of this battle, setting forth the extraordinary heroism of Colonel Johnson in its true light, while the reader gets a very clear idea of the whole operations:

"The number of British regulars under General Proctor could not then be ascertained, nor the number of Indians who acted with them; but it was evident that the American force, under General Harrison and Governor Shelby, consisting of part of a regiment of regulars, and principally of Kentucky volunteer militia, was greater than that of the enemy. The British and Indians, however, were retreating into their own country, where their numbers were continually augmenting; and without the aid of mounted men it was impossible to bring them to battle. To effect this object, Colonel Johnson, with his reconnoitring party, pressed continually upon them, till they were forced to make a stand. From a videt, whom he made a prisoner at that fortunate moment, and whom he accused of being a spy, but promised to save on the condition of his giving a faithful account of the numbers and position of the enemy, he learned that the British regulars, be-

tween seven and eight hundred in number, were drawn up in a line from the river Thames on their left to a narrow swamp, impassable except at particular points, running parallel with the river at a distance of nearly a hundred yards from its margin; that, on the right of the regulars, west of this swamp, were lying in ambush about fifteen hundred Indians, under the command of that celebrated Indian warrior, General Tecumseh. Thus, advantageously posted, it appeared evidently the design of the enemy, if the mounted regiment should attack and force them to retreat, for the Indians to fall upon their rear and cut them off from the main army, which was three or four miles back. Colonel Johnson lost no time in communicating to General Harrison the information he had thus obtained. The General, confiding in the valour of the mounted regiment to sustain the combat till the whole army could be brought up, gave immediate orders for the regiment to divide, and at the same moment charge the regulars on horseback, and the Indians in their own manner of warfare. Never was an order more wisely given, or more perfectly executed. Satisfied, from the many trials which had been made in the training of the regiment to this kind of exercise, they would succeed in this novel method of charging, and believing that no other expedient would be effectual to prevent a retreat before the whole force could be brought to bear upon the enemy, and at the same time defeat his object of bringing the Indians upon their rear, the order for a simultaneous attack, and the manner in which it was executed, reflects immortal honour upon the general.

"In obedience to this order, Colonel Johnson divided his regiment. Finding a point at which he could pass the swamp, he, with one-half, moved on to attack the Indians, leaving his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson, with the other half, to lead the charge against the regulars; and, that both might be simultaneous, the sound of a trumpet was to announce to the lieutenant-colonel the moment when the colonel was ready for the conflict. The battalion under the lieutenant-colonel moved regularly on till within about a hundred yards' distance of General Proctor's regulars, where they

waited the signal for attack. To draw from the enemy their fire, Major Suggett, at the head of about a hundred men, dismounted and advanced within about forty yards of the enemy, giving orders that when the trumpet from beyond the swamp should sound, each man should deliberately present and fire at the enemy. This order was strictly obeyed, and the fire was most effectual. It drew from the enemy a hasty fire, which proved perfectly harmless. The charge was instantaneously made by the mounted battalion, moving in full speed and with a universal shout, which carried consternation and dismay through all the ranks of the enemy, breaking through his line, and proving very destructive upon his rear. General Proctor, and a few dragoons, made their escape by flight, and all the remainder of his army surrendered. This was effected with a force far inferior, without the loss of a single man. The charge was led by the intrepid, the persevering Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson, whom no dangers could dismay, no obstacles discourage; and the men whom he commanded were worthy of such a leader.

"The task of Colonel Richard M. Johnson was still more hazardous; for he had Tecumseh for his combatant, with a force three times more numerous than his own. As he advanced against the Indians, who, according to their custom, were concealed from view by lying in the grass and bushes, and behind trees, he selected twenty men, with whom he advanced a few rods in front of the main body, to bring on the battle without exposing the whole to the first fire of the Indians. While thus advancing, they received the fire of their savage enemies, and nineteen of the twenty fell, leaving but one man of that number, besides the colonel, to pursue the charge. This shot brought the Indians from their ambush. He immediately ordered his men to dismount and advance to combat. The order was promptly obeyed; the colonel only remained mounted. A dreadful conflict ensued. In the midst of this scene of slaughter, the colonel, still moving forward into the midst of the Indians, observed one who was evidently a commander of no common order. His gallantry was unrivalled, and his presence inspired a confidence among his fol-

lowers, equal to what might have been expected from an Alexander. He was a rallying point for the Indians, and where he stood they were impregnable. Colonel Johnson did not know the man; but observing his intrepidity, and the effect which his example had upon the others, and knowing the great superiority of their numbers, he considered it necessary to despatch him in order to secure the victory. The colonel had already received four wounds, and was greatly weakened by the loss of blood. His horse also had been so wounded as to be unable to move faster than a walk. He could not approach the chief in a right line, on account of the trunk of a very large tree which was lying before him. He therefore rode round the head of the tree, which was at his right, and turning his horse directly towards the chief, advanced upon him. At the distance of a few yards, the colonel's horse stumbled, but, providentially, did not entirely fall. This gave the Indian the first notice of his approach; who instantly levelled his rifle at the colonel, and gave him another wound, the severest which he received in the battle. He did not however fall, but continued his movement towards the Indian, till he came so near that the Indian was raising a tomahawk to strike him down. The colonel had a pistol in his right hand, charged with a ball and three buckshot, which he had held against his thigh, so that the Indian had not discovered it. This chief was arrayed in the habiliments of war, clad in the richest savage attire, and his face painted with alternate circular lines of black and red from the eye downward, which increased the natural ferocity of his savage countenance, and, apparently indifferent to every danger which awaited him, seemed confident of his victim; and, as he raised his tomahawk, with a fierce look of malicious pleasure,

'Grinn'd horribly a ghastly smile.'

At this moment, the colonel raised his pistol, and discharging its contents into the breast of the Indian chief, laid him dead upon the spot. The Indians near him, filled with consternation on seeing their commander fall, raised a horrid yell and instantly fled. The colonel, covered with wounds, twenty-

five balls having been shot into him, his clothes and his horse, was unable any longer to act, but was taken from the battle-ground faint and almost lifeless.

'Let the heart of his country cherish
His high and well-earn'd fame,
Till a glory that cannot perish
Be gather'd around his name.'

"The battle at that point was ended, except in pursuing the retreating foe; though in other parts of the line it continued a considerable time, till the main body of the army drew so near as to send a reinforcement to the left wing of the battalion, when the retreat of the Indians became universal.

"This was one of the most glorious victories of the war. The battalion under Colonel Johnson consisted of about five hundred men; the number of the savages was not less than fifteen hundred. The Indians chose their own manner of fighting; and it was in close contest, each man being stained with the blood of his victim by means of their nearness. The number of killed and wounded of Johnson's battalion was about fifty. That of the Indians could not be ascertained, as they are in the habit of carrying off as many of their dead as possible. Eighty were found lying upon the field, besides many others slain in the pursuit, and borne away by those who escaped.

"The effects of this victory were also as salutary as its achievement was glorious. It put a complete period to the war upon the north-western frontier, and ended the cruel murders that had been so frequently perpetrated in those regions, in which female tenderness and helpless infancy had been the common victims of savage barbarity.

"No sooner had the battle ended, than it was discovered by those of the regiment who were viewing the scene of horror which the battle-ground presented, that the Indian whom the colonel had slain was, in all probability, the celebrated Tecumseh; and before the colonel had so far revived as to be able to speak, the tidings ran through the camp, that he had killed Tecumseh. This was for some time undisputed; but whether envy or honest doubt led to a denial of the fact, is

neither certain nor important, yet it afterwards became a subject of dispute whether it was Tecumseh that he slew. Some of the circumstances which confirm the fact, shall here be noted. It is known that Tecumseh was killed in this battle, and that the person whom Colonel Johnson killed was a chief warrior. It is also known that but one other chief was killed, in any way answering to the description given of this person, and that he, a brother-in-law to Tecumseh, was killed in another part of the battle. Several persons who were in the battle, and who were perfectly indifferent to the hand by which he fell, have averred to the writer of this, that Tecumseh was found dead upon the very spot where Colonel Johnson killed this chief; and that a medal was taken from that body, which was known to have been presented to Tecumseh by the British government. Anthony Shane, a celebrated Indian warrior, who is partially civilized, is a man of high character for honour and integrity, and has been the uniform friend of the United States; he was at the Thames at the time of battle, and had been intimately acquainted with Tecumseh from early childhood. The writer of this inquired of Shane, what he knew of the death of Tecumseh. He answered, that immediately after the battle of the Thames was ended, he went to the spot where several of the men had seen Colonel Johnson kill an Indian commander, and there he saw Tecumseh lie dead upon the ground; that he examined his body, and observed that he must have been killed by a person on horseback, for a ball and three buckshot were shot into his breast, and the ball passed through his body and came out at the lower part of his back. While looking at the body, he was asked if he was certain it was Tecumseh. Shane told them he was certain, for he had known him from childhood, and that if they would examine his thigh they would discover a remarkable scar, occasioned by the misfortune of Tecumseh having his thigh broken many years before; that, on examining, they found the scar as he had described. Shane knew this person to be Tecumseh, and his body was found where Colonel Johnson had killed an Indian commander. He was killed by a person on horseback; and

Colonel Johnson was the only person in that part of the battle who fought on horseback. He was shot with a ball and three buckshot; and the pistol with which Colonel Johnson shot the Indian chief was charged with a ball and three buckshot. These circumstances establish the fact beyond all reasonable doubt, and as conclusively as any historical fact can be established, that Colonel Johnson, in this chivalrous act, slew Tecumseh, and delivered his country from the most courageous, the most hostile, the most skilful, and the most terrific savage foe that America ever had. His enmity was like that of Hannibal to the Romans, and his arm not less powerful; but before the unconquerable spirit of Johnson he fell, and terror fled from the habitations of the frontiers."

CHAPTER XVI.

General Cass stationed at Detroit—General Harrison makes Preparations to proceed in the War, but is badly treated by the Government—Resigns his Commission—An ill-contrived Expedition—Invasion of Canada—Battle of Chippewa.

"Ducit amor patriæ."

The fall of Detroit having put an end to the Indian war in that quarter and given security to the frontiers, General Harrison discharged the greater part of his volunteers, stationed General Cass at Detroit, with about 1000 men, and being without orders from the War Department, he resolved to proceed to the Ontario frontier in the fleet. Accordingly, on the 22d of October, he sailed from Erie with M'Arthur's brigade and a battalion of riflemen, and arrived at Buffalo on the 24th. From this place, he marched to Newark, where he received orders from the War Department to send the brigade to Sackett's Harbour, and was informed that he had permission to return to his family. This intimation, the meaning of which it was not difficult to understand, was complied with, and he soon afterwards resigned his commission.

Before we leave this quarter, it is proper to advert to an event which took place at a somewhat later period. The fort of Mackinaw was now the only one remaining of the British conquests in the west. In the spring of 1814, an effort was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, jointly with Commodore Sinclair, who commanded the flotilla on lake Erie, to obtain possession of it. A landing was effected on the island, but the strength of the place was found to be so great, that the troops were re-embarked, with the loss of Major Holmes, several other officers, and about sixty men. Two of the American schooners were subsequently captured by boarding, with great slaughter.

While, on the north-western frontier, the disgrace of former campaigns had been repaid by an ample harvest of victory, the American people were doomed to experience fresh disappointment and mortification in another quarter, from the want of judgment in the administration, or of energy in the commanding officers. The retirement of Generals Dearborn and Lewis, had left the command of the army at fort George in the hands of General Boyd, who was restricted by the government from engaging in offensive operations, as it was intended to intrust the command to other officers. Generals Wilkinson and Hampton were called from the southern section of the United States for this purpose. To the former was given the command of the forces on the shores of the Ontario, while the latter was assigned to the northern army, then encamped at Plattsburg. The public voice called for some more decided and energetic measures than had as yet been taken. The strength and spirits of the army had been wasted in a succession of petty attacks upon unimportant places, while the two great posts of Kingston and Montreal remained secure and unthreatened.

It was now determined by the administration, that one or both of these should be assailed by the respectable force which, towards the month of August, had been assembled; and, for the purpose of maturing the plan and superintending its execution, the Secretary of War, General Armstrong, proceeded to Sackett's Harbour. After considerable delibera-

tion, the arrangements of the campaign were finally agreed upon. It was determined that the army should fall down the St. Lawrence in boats; that it should be joined by the force under General Hampton at the most convenient point of junction, and should thence proceed to attack Montreal, which, at this period, was supposed to be defended by a small force. General Wilkinson, who arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the 20th of August, had been, for some time after that period, diligently employed in collecting and organizing the scattered detachments of the army, which were gradually concentrated on Grenadier Island, near the head of the St. Lawrence. Although the advanced state of the season rendered it necessary that the greatest expedition should be used, yet the difficulties attending this measure were so numerous, that it was not until the 23d of October that a sufficient force could be assembled. The army thus collected, consisted of about 7000 men. The strength of the enemy at Kingston, was estimated at about 4000. To favour the idea of an attack being intended on this place, a post on the St. Lawrence, contiguous to it, was fixed on for the rendezvous of the army, to which the advance, under General Brown, was despatched. On the 3d of November, the rear, with the commanding general, arrived at this spot, and everything being in readiness, the whole flotilla got under way, and proceeded down the river on the 5th.

It was soon discovered that a passage down the St. Lawrence was not to be effected without difficulty. At every narrow pass, artillery and musketeers were stationed; and the enemy, relieved of apprehension on the score of Kingston, had despatched a force of 1500 men, and a squadron of armed vessels, to hang upon the rear. It became necessary, therefore, that a party should be landed to remove the obstructions in front; for which purpose, Colonel Macomb was detached with about 1200 men, and was subsequently reinforced by General Brown's brigade, while the brigade under General Boyd acted as a rear-guard. After surmounting various obstacles, the flotilla arrived, on the 10th, in the vicinity of a large and dangerous rapid. Here, an attack was made on

the rear of the flotilla, by the enemy's gun-boats, who were not driven back until a battery of eighteen-pounders was erected. On the 11th, information was received from General Brown, that he had repulsed the force opposed to him, and had taken a position at the foot of the rapid. It was determined, therefore, to attempt the passage, when information was received from General Boyd, that the British were advancing in column to assail him. He was immediately directed to anticipate the attack, by moving against the enemy with his whole force. The latter was advantageously posted behind the deep ravines which intersected the plain. The attack was commenced by driving back a strong party of the British, posted in the wood. General Covington then advanced on the right of the enemy, with his brigade, while Colonel Ripley assailed his left flank, with the 21st regiment, after having routed with the bayonet a superior number opposed to him. The attack on the enemy's right was not attended with success. The fall of General Covington, who was killed while bravely leading his brigade to the charge, and the want of ammunition, caused that part of the Americans to retire. In its retreat, a piece of artillery was captured by the enemy, in consequence of the difficulty of the ground. At length, after a contest of two hours, the Americans retired and re-occupied the ground from which they had originally driven the enemy, while the latter fell back to their camp. The infantry were soon afterwards embarked on board the flotilla, and the dragoons and light artillery proceeded by land to the foot of the rapid.

The numbers engaged in this action, have been variously represented. From the British official accounts, it would appear that their own force did not exceed 800, while that of their adversaries is stated at 4000. This palpable exaggeration is of a nature to throw discredit upon their whole report. It is known that the force of General Boyd did not exceed 1700 men, and it is probable the numbers of the enemy were not inferior. Both parties claimed a victory. The American commander contended that the object of his attack had been gained in the repulse of the enemy, and the occupation of the

ground previously possessed by him. The British, on the other hand, maintained that the capture of a piece of artillery, and the retreat of the Americans to their boats, left all the advantage on their side. It must be acknowledged that the advantages, if any, gained by the Americans, were not sufficient to compensate for the loss of men which they sustained; 102 were killed, including General Covington, and 237 wounded. The enemy, according to their official report, lost 22 killed, 147 wounded, and 12 missing; they claimed also to have captured 100 prisoners.

On the succeeding day, the flotilla got under way, and, having passed the rapid without loss, arrived near St. Regis, where the advance, under General Brown, was found. Here it was that General Wilkinson expected to meet the army of General Hampton, in conformity with orders despatched on the 6th from Prescott. Instead of these troops, a messenger was found from the latter officer, conveying information that in consequence of the state of the roads and the scantiness of provisions, he was unable to undertake the contemplated movement. A council of war was then called by General Wilkinson, composed of the chief officers of the army, who gave it as their unanimous opinion, that it would be unadvisable to make an attempt on Montreal, at that advanced period of the season. The Canadian territory was accordingly evacuated, and the troops went into winter-quarters at French Mills, near to St. Regis. Thus terminated this ill-contrived and disastrous expedition. Great expectations had been formed by the American people, but it was perhaps fortunate that it terminated at St. Regis. The enemy had taken every precautionary measure of defence; the river was of difficult navigation, the season was very far advanced, the indisposition of General Wilkinson prevented his directing the operations in person, and the stock of provisions was found to be insufficient for any considerable period. Under these circumstances, had the army been reinforced by the junction of that of General Hampton, and had it even obtained possession of Montreal, it is highly probable that a fate similar to that of the French in Russia would have befallen it.

The strength of the northern army, under General Hampton, was about 4000 men, all regulars, by whom it was intended, as we have seen, that a junction should be made with the troops from Sackett's Harbour. Accordingly, in the month of September, General Hampton moved from Plattsburg towards the Canadian frontier, which he crossed on the 21st of October. The route of the army, which had been obstructed in every possible way by the enemy, lay along the left bank of the Chateauguay river, by which it advanced with great difficulty until the 25th, when, it being ascertained that the enemy, under Sir George Prevost, was in considerable force behind a wood which separated the army from the open country, General Hampton determined upon endeavouring to cut them off. Colonel Purdy was, therefore, detached to the right bank with the first brigade, that he might gain the rear of the enemy, by a ford about twelve miles below, while their attention was engaged by the second brigade in front. Unfortunately, from the darkness of the night and the ignorance of the guides, the first part of the plan entirely failed. The second brigade advanced on the 26th, and soon afterwards learned that the enemy was posted behind a ravine, at the distance of two miles. The 10th regiment, consisting of 237 men, from the report of that day, was moved forward, and, after a march of half an hour, fell in with a body of the enemy, which they soon routed and drove from the ground. The rest of the brigade did not appear until after the termination of the action, and to the great regret of the army, the first brigade was about that time perceived on the opposite bank, it having been unable to advance further, from the causes we have stated. On the same day, the whole force retired, about two miles, to the spot where the baggage had been halted, without molestation from the enemy, who were secured behind entrenchments and abattis. At this place, the army remained until the 28th, when intelligence having been received, which led to the conclusion that General Wilkinson had abandoned his descent of the St. Lawrence, a council of war was called, by which it was unanimously decided to retire to such a position as would secure its commu-

nication with the United States. The troops were accordingly put in motion, and on the 2d of November, reached their former post, at the Four Corners, within the territory of the United States. Here General Hampton received the despatch from General Wilkinson, directing a junction of his force on the St. Lawrence. He immediately returned an answer, stating, as we have already mentioned, his opinion of the impracticability of the measure, in consequence of the want of provisions, and soon afterwards fell back to Plattsburg, where the troops went into winter-quarters. General Hampton then resigned his commission, leaving General Izard in command.

The two divisions of the northern army remained in winter-quarters, at these posts, until the month of January, when General Wilkinson received orders from the War Department to detach General Brown with 2000 men to the Niagara frontier, and to fall back with the remainder of his force to Plattsburg. This order was complied with, and the remaining force being concentrated at the latter place, nothing of importance occurred until the end of March, when General Wilkinson, hearing that the enemy had collected a considerable force near the lines, resolved to dislodge them. He accordingly moved from Plattsburg on the 30th of March, with about 4000 men, and found the main body of the British posted at La Cole Mill, a strong and extensive stone building, which had been fortified for the purpose. The state of the roads did not admit of the heavy ordnance being brought up, and an attempt was made to batter the walls with two small pieces, but they were found to be too solid to be shaken, and, after repeated endeavours, the American commander drew off his forces, having suffered a loss of 100 men in killed and wounded. He subsequently retired to Odletown, and, in consequence of the discontent excited in the public mind by the result of this and the preceding expedition, he was removed from the command, which devolved upon General Izard.

We return now to the Ontario frontier, which, during the close of the year 1813, was visited by some of the severest calamities of war. After the departure of General Wilkinson

on his ill-fated expedition to Montreal, the command of fort George devolved upon Brigadier-General M'Clure, of the New York militia. The force of this officer having been reduced on the 10th of December, by the expiration of the term of service of the militia, to about 100 men, it was deemed expedient to abandon the place. On the 12th, the troops were accordingly removed, having previously destroyed the fort and public property, and, it is painful to add, the flourishing village of Newark. This outrage upon humanity, and the laws of civilized warfare, perpetrated at an inclement season of the year, and without any sufficient motive, excited, as it deserved, the indignation of the American people. It was immediately disavowed by the government, in an official communication made to the public authorities in Canada; but, before the disavowal reached the latter, a severe and excessive measure of retaliation had been taken. On the 19th, at midnight, the enemy crossed the river with about 600 men, surprised fort Niagara, and massacred nearly the whole garrison, consisting of about 300 men, chiefly invalids. From fort Niagara, they proceeded to Lewistown, and, after routing a considerable body of militia, burned that village, Manchester, Youngstown, and the Indian settlement of Tuscaroras. On the 30th of the same month, a party of regulars, militia, and Indians, in number about 700, landed at Black Rock and advanced to the town of Buffalo, to defend which a body of about 2500 militia was stationed. On the approach of the enemy, however, these men fled without firing a musket, to their lasting disgrace, and the unfortunate village was soon taken, and immediately reduced to ashes, after which, the British returned to Canada. In thus devastating a whole frontier, which, but a little while before, had been the scene of happiness and prosperity, they unquestionably exceeded the bounds of a just retaliation, had even the conduct of General M'Clure received the sanction of the American government. In this case; in the employment of the savages; and, indeed, in many other instances, the British officers appear to have been governed by a vindictive and unrelenting spirit, altogether incompatible with the relations of civilized

states, and with the enlarged and liberal principles of religion and morality.

The naval warfare on lake Ontario, although not marked by the same brilliant events as that on lake Erie, was yet not devoid of interest. Each party had, at different times, a numerical superiority of force, and as the one government increased the number and force of its vessels in exact proportion to the other, it came to pass that before the conclusion of the war, ships of the largest magnitude in naval architecture floated over those waters, which, till then, had borne only the light skiff of the Indian, or the slender shallop of commerce. This alternate preponderance of force, gave occasion to the display of the highest skill and seamanship by the two commanders; and, notwithstanding the narrow limits of the lake, neither party was able to boast of signal success over the other. In the month of August, 1813, an encounter took place between the two squadrons, which, after being productive of a variety of manœuvres, terminated in the capture of two of the smaller American vessels, in consequence of the superior sailing of the British ships. No important event occurred subsequently to this period, until the beginning of October. Both squadrons were then on the lake, but the prudent caution of the British commander, whose force was then inferior, induced him to avoid a general action, while the efforts of Commodore Chauncey were generally crippled by the dull sailing of his small vessels. On the 5th, however, after a fruitless chase of the British squadron, he succeeded in capturing four transports, on board of which were about 300 officers and privates of the regular army. The winter and spring of 1814, were occupied chiefly in augmenting the force of the two fleets. At the commencement of the season, the superiority was on the side of the enemy, and, as a frigate of the largest size was then building at Sackett's Harbour, he availed himself of his command of the lake to destroy as much as possible the American means of warfare. On the 5th of May, an attack was made upon Oswego, a small village near the border of the lake, which had become the deposit of a considerable quantity of naval stores, and was de-

fended by a fort, containing five guns and about 300 men, under Colonel Mitchell. The enemy made an attempt to land from fifteen boats, but so heavy a fire was opened upon them from the fort, that they were compelled to retire. On the succeeding day, the whole fleet having taken a position to cannonade the fort, the British troops succeeded in effecting a landing, advanced, and took possession of the village, from which the naval stores had principally been removed through the vigilance of Colonel Mitchell. Disappointed in their object, the British retreated on the 7th, with the loss of about 100 men. They are supposed to have amounted to about 1500, and were under the command of General Drummond. The American loss was about 70.

The launch and equipment of the new American frigate, compelled Sir James Yeo to withdraw his squadron to Kingston, leaving a number of gun-boats on the lake. The opportunity was then taken by the American officers, to remove the stores from Oswego to Sackett's Harbour by water. Accordingly, on the 28th of May, Captain Woolsey, of the navy, left the former port with eighteen boats, accompanied by Major Appling, with about 130 of the rifle regiment, and an equal number of Indians. Having arrived off Sandy Creek, they discovered the enemy's gun-boats, and, in consequence, entered the stream. The riflemen and Indians were landed, and posted in an ambuscade. The enemy, as was expected, ascended the creek and landed a party, which was moving up its bank, when the Americans rose from their ambush, and opened so destructive a fire upon them, that in ten minutes they surrendered, to the number of about 200, including two post-captains and six lieutenants. With these, were also captured three gun-boats, and several smaller vessels. Of the Americans, only one man was killed. Shortly after this event, Commodore Chauncey, having completed the equipment of his new frigate, again sailed from Sackett's Harbour; but as he had now a superiority of force, the British commander did not think proper to venture an engagement.

The campaign on the borders of Lake Ontario, did not commence until near midsummer. General Brown was de-

tached, by order of the government, from the northern army to Sackett's Harbour, with about 2000 men. After his arrival at the latter place, he remained for some time employed in disciplining and organizing troops, until he received directions from the War Department to move to Black Rock and Buffalo, with a view to future operations in the peninsula. The army at Buffalo amounted to between 3000 and 4000 men, and was composed of two brigades of infantry, under Generals Scott and Ripley, a detachment of artillery, and a body of volunteers from New York and Pennsylvania, under General Porter. On the morning of the 3d of July, this well-appointed and gallant force landed in the vicinity of the British fort of Erie, opposite to Black Rock. Preparations were immediately made for an assault, but before the artillery could be planted it surrendered, and the garrison, to the number of 137, were made prisoners of war.

Having placed a small garrison in fort Erie, General Brown advanced, on the succeeding day, to within two miles of Chippewa, on the heights, near which the enemy's troops, to the number of about 3000, were entrenched. On the morning of the 5th, General Porter was detached with the volunteers to drive back the enemy's skirmishers; and, by cutting off their retreat, to bring on a general engagement. The enemy was not slow in manifesting a disposition to meet the Americans. About noon, General Riall, who commanded the British forces, moved out of his works, and commenced an attack upon General Porter's command, to support which, the first brigade and part of the artillery were now advanced, and took post on its right. The determined onset of the British regulars, soon compelled the raw troops under General Porter to give way, and thus exposed the flank of General Scott's brigade. To prevent the enemy from profiting by this advantage, General Brown now ordered up General Ripley's brigade, with directions to skirt the wood on the left of the line, and to gain, if possible, the rear of the British right. After a severe struggle, Major Jessup, with the left flank battalion of the first brigade, succeeded in reaching a position from which he opened so galling a fire as to compel that portion of their

troops to retrograde; while, at the same time, the remainder of the brigade continued to press forward. The enemy now, finding his efforts ineffectual on every point, gradually fell back until he reached the sloping ground in the vicinity of Chippewa, where, being hard pressed by the victors, his retreat became a rapid and disorderly flight. The further advance of the American troops was checked by the enemy's batteries; and the day being now too far spent for an assault, General Brown drew off his forces and returned to camp.

The battle of Chippewa was undoubtedly the best fought action that had yet occurred in the progress of the war. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal; the troops engaged were chiefly of the regular army, and the field was won by fair and open fighting. The Americans had for some time been earnestly employed in perfecting themselves in discipline, under zealous and enlightened officers, who were anxious to wipe off the stigma which successive defeats had attached to the American arms. The British troops, on the other hand, were veterans, and many of them had recently arrived, flushed with the conquest of the first soldiers of Europe. To have beaten them, therefore, by dint of superior skill or bravery, was a source of great triumph to the American army, and excited unbounded joy in the republic. The loss of men was nevertheless unusually great, and showed the obstinacy with which the battle had been contested. The official report of General Brown, stated the killed, wounded, and missing of the American army at 328. That of the British commander represented his whole loss to have amounted to 499, among whom were many officers of rank.

Soon after his defeat, General Riall abandoned the works at Chippewa, and fell back to Queenstown, while the American army occupied the former place, and no operation of material importance ensued for some days. On the 25th, however, General Brown being informed that an attack was meditated by the enemy upon Schlosser, a place on the American side of the Niagara, where the sick and baggage of the army had been sent, resolved to draw him off, if possible, from this attempt. General Scott was accordingly despatched, at four

in the afternoon, with his own brigade, Towson's artillery, and the dragoons. After proceeding about two miles, the enemy was found posted on an eminence, with the Queenstown road in their front, and defended by a battery of nine pieces of cannon. A narrow strip of wood intervened between the two armies. After despatching an express for reinforcements, General Scott resolved to attack the enemy. The action was commenced by Captain Towson's artillery, and was supported for an hour by the first brigade alone, against the greatly superior force of the enemy. The right of the brigade was occupied by Major Jessup, with the 25th regiment. This gallant officer, finding the road which led to the British rear unoccupied, threw himself upon it with impetuosity, and succeeded in capturing General Riall and many other officers and men. The ranks of the Americans were, however, rapidly thinning under the severe fire from the enemy's batteries, while the British were continually receiving reinforcements. The day was nearly spent when General Ripley, with the second brigade, arrived at a critical moment. He was directed by General Brown to form on the right of the first brigade, but perceiving that by this step he should subject himself to a similar fate, he resolved to disobey his orders, to place himself between the enemy and the first brigade, and to attack the heights on which their battery was placed, without the possession of which, it was plain the Americans had nothing to hope. He therefore formed the two regiments of which his brigade was composed in front of General Scott's line, and, leading the 23d in person, he directed Colonel Miller, with the 21st, to assault the enemy's battery. The order was executed by the latter with the utmost gallantry. After a short contest, in which many of the artillerymen were bayoneted at their pieces, the enemy's cannon were carried, and at the same moment General Ripley, with the 23d, drove the infantry from the crest of the eminence. The British troops being thus forced from their position, the American line was formed in front of the captured artillery. The conflict was, however, not yet over. The enemy, being reinforced by a large body of fresh troops,

brought up his whole force, and made three resolute and determined attacks upon the Americans, in each of which, after a close contest of bayonets, he was repulsed and driven down the hill. It was midnight. The command of the American army had devolved upon General Ripley, in consequence of the wounds of Generals Brown and Scott. Previous to retiring from the field, the former had given directions to General Ripley, to collect the wounded and return to camp. These orders were now obeyed, but, unfortunately, from the circumstance of most of the horses being killed, it was found impossible to remove the captured cannon. They were, therefore, left on the field, having been previously spiked.

In this sanguinary engagement, the superiority of numbers was unquestionably on the side of the British; only one-half of the American army was engaged at one time: the first brigade having been put almost hors du combat, before the arrival of the second. The enemy, on the other hand, received continued accessions of fresh troops after the commencement of the action. The palm of victory was claimed by both parties. If occupying the position of an enemy, after previously driving him from it, obtaining possession of his artillery, and retaining it in opposition to his repeated efforts to recover it, be not a victory, it is impossible to say to what actions that expression can be applied. The British troops had been withdrawn from the field before the Americans retired to their camp, and every appearance of opposition had ended. The loss of men was great on both sides. Of the British, 84 were killed, including five officers, 559 wounded, among whom were Generals Drummond and Riall and 39 other officers, and 235 missing, of whom 169 were taken prisoners. Of the Americans, 11 officers, and 160 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, 54 officers, and 417 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded, and 8 officers, and 109 non-commissioned officers and privates missing.

"On the succeeding morning, General Ripley, in conformity with orders from General Brown, put his troops in motion on the Queenstown road, but having soon afterwards learned

that the enemy was in great force, at no considerable distance, while his own strength did not exceed 1600 effectives, he again resolved to disobey his instructions. He therefore broke up the camp at Chippewa, and, destroying the bridges in his rear, retreated to fort Erie, the defences of which were immediately repaired and strengthened. The enemy, to the number of about 5000 men, followed his footsteps, and encamped about two miles from fort Erie, to which they now laid a regular siege. On the day after the commencement of the siege, General Gaines arrived from Sackett's Harbour, and took the command. From this period until the 14th of August, a heavy cannonade was maintained against the American works, and the approaches of the besiegers were gradually drawn nearer. At length, at two in the morning of the 15th, the British troops moved to the assault in three columns. The right, under Colonel Fisher, advanced to within a short distance of the American left, which was defended by the 21st regiment, and Towson's artillery, when it was received with so destructive a fire, that, after four successive attempts to advance, it broke and fled. The left column, under Colonel Scott, was received by the 9th regiment, Captain Douglas's artillery, and two companies of volunteers, and retreated after the first fire. The centre column, led by Colonel Drummond, advanced under cover of a ravine, without loss, to the wall, against which they placed scaling-ladders, and, after a sanguinary struggle, established themselves for a short time on the bastion; at this moment, a sudden explosion took place under the platform, which destroyed numbers of both armies, and put the remainder of the enemy to flight. The remains of the British columns then retired to the camp. The loss of the assailants was very severe. Colonels Scott and Drummond, with 54 others, were killed, 319 wounded, and 439 missing, most of whom were killed or wounded. The American loss amounted to but 84 in all.

The besieging army lay comparatively inactive for a considerable period after this repulse. Fresh troops were constantly arriving, and a heavy cannonade was continued against the fort. The fire from the enemy's batteries proving very

severe and destructive, General Brown, who had resumed the command, resolved on a sortie, for the purpose of effecting their destruction. The British force at this time consisted of three brigades, of about 1500 men each, one of which was alternately stationed at the batteries, while the others remained at the camp, two miles distant. At noon, on the 17th of September, the party destined for this enterprise moved out of the fort in two divisions. The left, under General Porter, advanced through a wood with so much celerity, that the enemy were completely surprised; a short conflict ensued, which ended in the capture of the batteries and garrison, with the loss of Colonels Gibson and Wood, who fell gallantly fighting at the head of their men. The right division, under General Miller, had been stationed in a ravine, with directions not to advance until General Porter should have gained the enemy's flank. The noise of the firing being heard, General Miller immediately moved forward, and, after a close and severe contest, the whole of the enemy's batteries were carried. The cannon were then spiked, and the troops, having accomplished their object, returned to their fort, carrying with them 380 prisoners. Besides this loss, 115 of the enemy were killed, and 178 wounded. The American loss was also very severe: 79 were killed, among whom was General Davis of the New York militia, 232 wounded, and 216 missing.

The success of this enterprise compelled the British commander to raise the siege, and fall back behind the Chippewa. The American army was also soon afterwards strongly reinforced, by the arrival of Major-General Izard, with 5000 men from Plattsburg. Having taken the chief command, that officer immediately advanced towards Chippewa, where he found the enemy strongly entrenched, and vainly endeavoured to entice him into the field. The season being far advanced, it was determined to withdraw the army to the American shore. Fort Erie was therefore destroyed, and the troops went into winter-quarters at Buffalo, Black Rock, and Batavia.

CHAPTER XVII.

Remarkable Cruise of the Essex—Engaged by a superior British Force—Sanguinary Battle of three Hours—Capture of the Essex.

"Thou canst not boast a victory rightly won."

The spring of 1814 was distinguished for the loss of the American frigate Essex, Commodore David Porter, which was captured on the 28th of March, in the Bay of Valparaiso, South America, by a superior British force. The cruise of the Essex is remarkable for its extent, and the adventurous spirit with which it was conducted. The Essex sailed from the Delaware in October, 1812, under orders to join the squadron of Commodore Bainbridge, off the coast of South America. After touching at the Cape De Verds, Captain Porter arrived on the coast of Brazil in November, and not finding the Constitution, proceeded round Cape Horn, which he doubled, during tremendous storms, in the month of February. He then put into the port of Valparaiso, and having procured the necessary supplies, sailed for the Gallipagos islands. Here he cruised for the space of six months, during which he inflicted incalculable injury on the enemy's commerce. The whole of the British vessels at that time on the Pacific were captured, to the number of twelve; three of them were sent to Valparaiso, three to the United States, and two given up to the prisoners. Of the remainder, one was converted into a vessel of war, on which he mounted twenty guns, and named her the Essex Junior, and with her and the other three, he proceeded to the Marquesas islands, for the purpose of provisioning and repairing his frigate. At Nooakeva, one of this group, he met with a very hospitable reception from the natives in general; but the hostile conduct of the Typees, one of the tribes, led to a conflict with them, which ended in the destruction of their village, with circumstances of severity deeply to be regretted.

In company with the Essex Junior, Captain Porter sailed from Nooakeva on the 12th of December, and arrived at

Valparaiso shortly afterwards. They had not been here long, when a British frigate, the Phœbe, Captain Hillyar, with the Cherub sloop of war, appeared off the port, having been fitted out expressly to meet the Essex. Their united force was much greater than Captain Porter's, the Essex Junior being a mere store-ship. After a blockade of six weeks, he at length made an attempt to get to sea; unfortunately, in rounding a point, a squall carried away his maintopmast, and thus precluded all hope of getting out. Returning to the harbour was equally impracticable, and Captain Porter therefore ran into a small bay, within pistol-shot of the shore, where the laws of war ought to have protected him. Captain Hillyar, however, regardless of these rules, commenced an attack before a spring could be put on the Essex's cable. The Phœbe and Cherub both took a position under her stern, and opened a heavy fire from their broadsides. In return, Captain Porter could bring only three twelve-pounders to bear on the enemy, and, finding his crew to be falling fast around him, he cut his cable, and ran down with the intention of laying the Phœbe on board. The latter, however, kept away, and being armed with long guns, the Essex carrying only carronades, her fire was so destructive that Captain Porter determined to run his ship on shore; but the wind setting off the land, he was unable to accomplish his purpose, and, after a sanguinary contest of three hours, no alternative remained but to strike his colours. The slaughter on board the Essex was very great; out of 255 men, 154 were killed, wounded or missing. The flag of the Essex was not struck to an equal force. The Phœbe mounted 53 guns, and had on board 320 men; the Cherub, 28 guns, and 180 men. The number of guns on board the two vessels was, therefore, 81, while the Essex carried only 46. The Essex Junior was at anchor in the port of Valparaiso during the action, in which she bore no part.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Captain Warrington, Commander of the Peacock, falls in with and captures the British Brig Epervier—Prize brought to the United States.

"Then here's to the heroes, high-sounding in story,
Who have gallantly met and conquer'd the foe."

The ship Peacock, of 18 guns, commanded by Captain Warrington, being on a cruise on the southern coast, fell in with, on the 29th of October, the British brig Epervier, of equal force. After an action of forty-two minutes, the latter surrendered, with the loss of 8 killed and 15 wounded. Only one man was killed, and two wounded, on board the Peacock. The prize, which was found to contain $120,000, was brought safely to the United States.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Ross marches to the Capitol of the United States—Issues Orders for the Burning of the Public Buildings—Order executed.

While the shouts of naval victories yet echoed over the land, the public attention was irresistibly drawn to the movements of the enemy on the sea-board. About the middle of August, between fifty and sixty sail of the British arrived in the Chesapeake, with troops destined for the attack of Washington, the capital of the United States. On the 23d of August, 6000 British troops, commanded by General Ross, forced their way to that place, burnt the capitol, president's house, and executive offices. Having thus accomplished an object highly disgraceful to the British arms, and wantonly burned public buildings, the ornament and pride of the nation, the destruction of which could not hasten the termination of the war, on the 25th they retired, and, by rapid marches, re-

gained their shipping, having lost, during the expedition nearly 1000 men.

The following are the particulars of this deplorable affair—a narrative that reflects even more discredit on the temporary conquerors than upon the conquered themselves.

The troops, under General Ross, were landed at Benedict, on the Pawtuxet, forty-seven miles from Washington. On the 21st, they moved toward Nottingham, and the following day reached Marlborough. A British flotilla, commanded by Cockburn, consisting of launches and barges, ascended the river at the same time, keeping on the right flank of the army. The day following, on approaching the American flotilla of Commodore Barney, which had taken refuge high up the river, twelve miles from Washington, some sailors left on board the flotilla for the purpose, should it be necessary, set fire to it and fled.

On the arrival of the British army at Bladensburg, six miles from Washington, General Winder, commander of the American forces, chiefly militia collected for the occasion, ordered them to engage the enemy. The principal part of the militia, however, fled at the opening of the contest. Commodore Barney, with a few eighteen-pounders, and about 400 men, made a gallant resistance; but, being overpowered by numbers, and himself wounded, he and a part of his brave band were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

From Bladensburg, General Ross urged his march to Washington, where he arrived at about eight o'clock in the evening. Having stationed his main body at the distance of a mile and a half from the capitol, he entered the city at the head of about 700 men, soon after which, he issued his orders for the conflagration of the public buildings. With the capitol were consumed its valuable libraries, and all the furniture and articles of taste and value in that and in the other buildings. The great bridge across the Potomac was burnt, together with an elegant hotel, and other private buildings.

CHAPTER XX.

Attack on Baltimore by Ross—Gallantry of the Americans—Overpowered by Numbers—Retreat—Americans entrenched two Miles from Baltimore—Enemy appear next Morning after the Battle—Abandon the Idea of taking the City as impracticable.

"But undauntedly fly to the scene of commotion,
To fight for their rights, till they die or prevail."

The capture of Washington was followed, September 12th, by an attack on Baltimore, in which the American forces, militia, and inhabitants of Baltimore, made a gallant defence. Being, however, overpowered by a superior force, they were compelled to retreat; but they fought so valiantly, that the attempt to gain possession of the city was abandoned by the enemy, who, during the night of Tuesday, 13th, retired to their shipping, having lost, among their killed, General Ross, the commander-in-chief of the British troops. Having made this general statement, we will now proceed to detail more particularly the operations of the enemy in this unsuccessful expedition.

The British army, after the capture of Washington, having re-embarked on board the fleet in the Pawtuxent, Admiral Cochrane moved down the river, and proceeded up the Chesapeake. On the morning of the 11th of September, he appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, fourteen miles from Baltimore, with a fleet of ships of war and transports, amounting to fifty sail.

On the next day, 12th, land forces, to the number of 6000, were landed at North Point, and, under the command of General Ross, commenced their march towards the city. In anticipation of the landing of the troops, General Stricker was despatched with 3200 men from Baltimore, to keep the enemy in check.

On the 12th, a battle was fought by the two armies. Early in the engagement, a considerable part of General Stricker's troops retreated in confusion, leaving him scarcely 1400 men, to whom was opposed the whole body of the enemy. An in-

cessant fire was continued from half-past two o'clock, till a little before four, when General Stricker, finding the contest unequal, and that the enemy outflanked him, retreated upon his reserve, which was effected in good order. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, amounted to 163, among whom were some of the most respectable citizens of Baltimore.

The enemy made his appearance the next morning in front of the American entrenchments, at a distance of two miles from the city, showing an intention of renewing the attack.

In the meantime, an attack was made on fort M'Henry, from frigates, bombs, and rocket-vessels, which continued through the day and the greater part of the night, doing, however, but little damage.

In the course of the night of Tuesday, Admiral Cochrane held a communication with the commander of the land forces, and the enterprise of taking the city being deemed impracticable, the troops were re-embarked, and the next day the fleet descended the bay, to the great joy of the released inhabitants.

CHAPTER XXI.

Capture of a British Squadron on Lake Champlain by Macdonough—Battle lasts several Hours—Three Galleys sunk—Battle at Plattsburg in sight of that on the Lake—Americans victorious by Land and Water—Last Operations of the Enemy in that Quarter.

"Fame, let thy trumpet sound,
Tell all the world around."

"By hard fighting, sir."

While the southern States were thus experiencing the calamities of an aggravated and relentless hostility, another portion of the Union had been invaded by the enemy, under circumstances very unfavourable to the cause of the republic. The peace of Europe had placed at the disposal of the British government a large and formidable army, with which it was enabled to attempt schemes of conquest and destruction, more

extensive than any it had yet conceived. The first step in its new plans was apparently to obtain the command of lake Champlain, and thence to move down the Hudson, thus dividing the eastern section from the rest of the Union, while the discontent so strongly manifested in the New England States would, it was hoped, lead also to a political division. The expected reinforcements arrived in the months of July and August, and as soon as they were organized, it was determined to lead them on the expedition. On the 3d of September, Sir George Prevost, at the head of 14,000 regular troops, crossed the American frontier, and took possession of the village of Champlain, intending thence to proceed to the attack of Plattsburg, while the British squadron should at the same time engage that of the Americans on the lake.

The march of General Izard to Sackett's Harbour had left Plattsburg undefended, except by about 1500 regular troops, under Brigadier-General Macomb. On the news of the enemy's design, the utmost exertion was made by this officer to collect a force of militia, and to put the works thrown up for the protection of the place in the best state of defence. By the 4th of September, about 1000 militia were collected, part of whom were stationed seven miles in advance, to obstruct the progress of the enemy. On the 6th, the latter was discovered approaching, and, after a slight skirmish, the militia party retired in confusion. The advance of the British column was, however, considerably retarded by the felling of trees, and other means, and General Macomb removed the planks of the bridge across the Saranac, on the right bank of which his entrenched camp was situated. The enemy having made his appearance, his light troops entered the town, and annoyed the Americans on the opposite bank, until, by a few hot shot, the buildings were set on fire, and several attempts to cross on the ruins of the bridges were uniformly repulsed. From this period to the 11th, the British commander was occupied in throwing up batteries opposite the American lines, and General Macomb, on his part, was no less active in strengthening his works, and augmenting his force.

The operations of Sir George Prevost appear to have

been retarded by the delay in fitting out the squadron, whose co-operation he conceived necessary to the success of an assault. At length, on the morning of the 11th, the British vessels appeared in view of Plattsburg. Their fleet consisted of the frigate Confiance, of 39 guns, the brig Linnet, of 16, the sloops Chub and Finch, of 11 each, and thirteen galleys, mounting 18 guns; carrying in all 95 guns, and about 1000 men, and was commanded by Captain Downie. The American squadron was anchored in the bay of Plattsburg, and carried in all 86 guns, and about 800 men. It was commanded by Commodore Macdonough, and consisted of the Saratoga, of 26 guns, the Eagle, of 20, the Ticonderoga, of 17, the Preble, of 7, and ten galleys, mounting 16 guns. At nine in the morning, the British commodore, in the Confiance, anchored abreast of the Saratoga, at a distance of three hundred yards; and the remaining vessels of his squadron took their stations opposite to those of the Americans. The engagement then commenced. After a fire of two hours, Commodore Macdonough, finding that the superior force of the Confiance had crippled most of the guns on the starboard side of his vessel, resolved to wind her round and open a fresh fire. This difficult manœuvre was performed with success, and the Confiance, being unable to effect the same operation, soon afterwards surrendered. The brig and sloops followed the same fate; three of the galleys were sunk, and the rest escaped. This glorious and memorable victory was gained with little comparative destruction of life. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to 110; of the British, 84 were killed, including Captain Downie, and 110 wounded. Being asked by the British commander how he gained the battle, he answered, "*By hard fighting, sir.*"

The attack of the American batteries commenced at the same moment with the naval engagement. Repeated attempts were made, under cover of a heavy bombardment, to force a passage of the river, in each of which the assailants were repulsed with great loss. The surrender of the fleet, which was announced by the shouts of victory from the American lines, induced the British commander to withdraw his troops

from the contest. At two in the morning of the 12th, the whole British army precipitately retreated, leaving their sick and wounded behind, and reached Chazy, eight miles distant, before their flight was discovered. Upwards of 500 deserters soon afterwards came in, and their whole loss was supposed, by General Macomb, to be about 2500; that of the Americans was only 99. Such was the issue of this powerful expedition, the last operation undertaken by the enemy in that quarter. The double victory of the army and navy raised the hopes, and exalted the reputation of the American people, and had a powerful effect upon the issue of the negotiations then pending between the two countries.

CHAPTER XXII.

General Jackson proceeds to New Orleans—Great Display of mental Energy—The Militia of Kentucky and Tennessee are hastened onward to defend the City—Fortifications thrown up—Negroes compelled to *work*—Martial Law proclaimed—American Lines on both Sides of the Mississippi—Destruction of the Schooner Caroline—The great Battle of New Orleans, on the Eighth of January—Americans gain a glorious Victory and save New Orleans.

"*Justum et tenacem propositi virum—*
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Improvidum ferient Ruinæ."

"The man resolved, and steady to his trust,
Inflexible to ill, and obstinately just;

From orbs convulsed should all the planets fly,
World crush on world, and ocean mix with sky;
He, unconcern'd, would view the falling whole,
And still maintain the purpose of his soul."

ANOTHER brilliant series of events remains to be recorded before we terminate the narration of military operations. In the extreme south, as well as on the remote northern frontier, a ray of glory was shed on the closing scenes of war, and a fresh lesson inculcated of the strength and power of a free

people contending against the invaders of their soil. After the conclusion of the contest with the Creeks, General Jackson fixed his head-quarters at Mobile, where he received information that about 300 British troops, under Colonel Nicholls, had arrived at Pensacola, and that an additional force of thirteen sail of the line, and 10,000 men, were daily expected. With his characteristic promptitude, he immediately made an additional call on the people of Tennessee, and took efficient measures to prepare for defence. The entrance of the bay of Mobile is defended by fort Bowyer, which was at that time garrisoned by 120 men of the 2d infantry, under Major Lawrence. On the 15th of September, Colonel Nicholls appeared, with four vessels of war, off the port, and soon afterwards landed a body of 300 men, composed of regulars and Indians. An attack was commenced at the same time by land and water; but, after a cannonade of three hours, the British vessels were compelled to retreat, and the commodore's frigate was so much disabled, that she drifted on shore, where she was set on fire and abandoned by her crew, only 20 of whom, out of 170, escaped. The troops retreated by land to Pensacola.

The government of Florida, having thus suffered its neutral territory to be violated, for the purpose of inflicting an injury on the United States, General Jackson resolved to demand satisfaction. He therefore marched from Mobile with a body of Tennessee volunteers, 2000 of whom had recently joined him, some regulars, and a few Choctaw Indians; and, having arrived in the vicinity of Pensacola on the 6th of November, he sent a flag, which was fired on and forced to return. He now determined to take possession of a place which had been so long made use of by the enemies of the republic to its annoyance. Early on the 7th, the troops were put in motion. The American encampment being to the west, it was supposed the attack would be made in that quarter, and accordingly the chief preparations of defence were made by the British and Spaniards on that side. The main body of the Americans, however, were directed to an opposite point, and the garrison, being completely surprised, were soon driven

from their positions; capitulation was then signed, by which Pensacola and the different fortresses were surrendered to the United States. The fort, called the Barrancas, which commanded the entrance of the bay, remained yet to be taken possession of. General Jackson was about marching his army for this purpose, when intelligence was received of its destruction by the British troops, who, with their shipping, then evacuated the bay. The government of the United States had not authorized the re-construction of them, and General Jackson soon afterwards returned to Mobile.

While at Mobile, intelligence was received that a formidable expedition was preparing for the invasion of Louisiana, and General Jackson proceeded immediately to New Orleans. Here abundant occasion was offered for the exercise of his varied talents, and the display of his mental energy. This important city was not properly defended at any one of the points from which it might be assailed; its population was various, disunited, apprehensive, and discontented; many had refused to comply with the militia draft, and even the legislative assembly was not free from the spirit of disaffection. In this state of things, the most decided and efficient measures were necessary, and General Jackson was not slow in adopting them. The defences of the Mississippi were strengthened; the inlets or bayous to the east were obstructed; the militia of Kentucky and Tennessee, who had been ordered out by the government, were hastened in their progress, and the patriotism of the people aroused by every means in his power.

At length, early in December, a fleet of sixty sail of vessels was discovered off the Ship island. A naval force of five gunboats, under Lieutenant Jones, had been collected on the lakes east of the town, which it was supposed would be able successfully to defend the narrow inlet; and now, on the news of the enemy's approach, Lieutenant Jones made sail for the passes of the lake Pontchartrain. Here, on the 13th, he was attacked by the enemy's barges, to the number of forty-three, with upwards of 1000 men, and, after a gallant defence of an hour, was compelled to surrender. The capture of these vessels having given the enemy the entire command of the ap-

proaches to New Orleans in that quarter, General Jackson redoubled his vigilance and exertions. The militia of the city was called out en masse; an embargo was laid on the vessels in the harbour; the negroes were impressed and compelled to work on the fortifications; and, soon afterwards, martial law was proclaimed. These strong and unusual measures, which nothing but the urgency of the case could have justified, led probably to the salvation of New Orleans.

Most of the bayous and canals leading to the Mississippi, had been obstructed or guarded with care. One, called the bayou Bienvenu, being little known, was unfortunately left open and undefended, except by a picket-guard. On the 22d, the enemy came suddenly on the American detachment, surprised them, and having pushed rapidly, reached the bank of the river by two o'clock in the afternoon. General Jackson, who had been joined the preceding day by 4000 Tennessee militia, under General Carrol, resolved immediately on attacking them. With about 2000 men, consisting of General Coffee's brigade of militia, a small body of regulars, and the city volunteers, with a detachment of artillery, he marched in the afternoon of the 22d, leaving General Carrol's force, and the city militia, to defend the Gentilly road.

The left of the enemy's line resting on the river, General Jackson ordered the armed schooner Caroline to take a station from which a fire could be advantageously opened upon it, at the same moment that the attack should be made by the land forces. This plan was put in execution about seven in the evening. The brigade of General Coffee rushed impetuously on the British right, while General Jackson, with the remainder of the forces, assailed their left, and the battery of the Caroline was directed with considerable effect. The enemy, although taken by surprise, soon formed, and withstood the assault with bravery. A thick fog arising, the American commander withdrew his troops, and, at four in the morning, retired to a strong position near the city. His loss in this short engagement was 24 killed, 115 wounded, and 74 missing. That of the British was, in all, 213.

The American troops were now earnestly employed in

strengthening the position taken by General Jackson, after the affair of the 23d. These lines, which subsequent events have rendered memorable, were on both banks of the Mississippi. That on the left was nearly straight, about one thousand yards in length, with a parapet, and a ditch containing five feet of water, extending on the right to the river, and on the left to a thick and impervious wood. On the right bank, was a heavy battery of fifteen cannon, which enfiladed the advance to the lines on the left. In the meantime, the enemy had been reinforced by the main body of the army, and a large train of artillery, under Sir Edward Packenham, the commander-in-chief of the expedition. Having previously destroyed the schooner Caroline, by a battery erected for the purpose, the whole British army was marched up the levee on the 28th, and, at the distance of half a mile, began a furious attack, with rockets and bombs. The fire from the American lines was, however, directed with so much more precision, that the British general drew off his troops with some loss. At daylight, on the 1st of January, the cannonade was renewed from the batteries erected by the enemy near the American lines, while, at the same time, a bold attack was made on General Jackson's left, which ended in the repulse of the assailants. In the evening, they retired from their batteries, leaving behind a considerable quantity of warlike munitions.

Shortly after this event, both armies received an accession of strength; that of General Jackson, by the arrival of 2500 Kentuckians, under General Adair, and the invaders by General Lambert, with 4000 men. The American troops now consisted of about 8000 men, many of whom were badly armed; the British were in number not less than 10,000, mostly veterans, and provided with every necessary article of war. Preparatory to the grand assault of the lines, it was necessary for the British commander to obtain possession of the batteries on the right bank, which the want of boats prevented his reaching. With great labour, he at length succeeded in cutting a canal from the bayou to the Mississippi, by which he was enabled to transport his boats to the river.

This operation was completed on the 7th, and the next morning fixed for the assault, which was to take place on both banks at the same time.

The 8th of January will long be memorable in the annals of the American republic. The preservation of an important city from plunder and violation; the defeat and destruction of the most powerful army that ever landed on the American shores, by a band of undisciplined militia—such were the consequences of the events of this day. Having detached a strong party to the right bank, under Colonel Thornton, the British commander moved early in the morning with his remaining force to the assault, in two divisions, under Generals Gibbs and Keen, the reserve being commanded by General Lambert. When they arrived within reach of the batteries, a heavy cannonade was opened, and as they approached nearer, a stream of well-directed fire from the unerring rifles of the militia, carried destruction into their ranks. After vainly attempting to advance, the assailants broke and fled in confusion. A second time did they approach the ditch, with equal ill success. A third attempt was made to bring them to the charge, but such was the havoc made among their officers, and in their ranks, that nothing could induce them to return. Their commander-in-chief had been killed; Generals Keen and Gibbs were severely wounded, and the plain was strewed with the dead and dying. In this state of things, General Lambert, upon whom the command had devolved, determined to give up the contest, and, collecting together the remains of his army, returned to camp. The attack on the right bank had in the meantime been made, and was attended with greater success. The body of undisciplined militia by which it was defended, had ingloriously fled, through fear of being outflanked, and the enemy quickly obtained possession of their works. The defeat on the left bank, however, left the enemy little disposition to profit by this advantage; and a stratagem of General Jackson induced him to abandon it. General Lambert having proposed an armistice, the proposal was agreed to by the American commander, with a condition that it should not extend to the right bank, to which no

reinforcements should be sent by either party. Deceived by this reservation, which led him to suppose that the Americans had been reinforced in that quarter, General Lambert withdrew his troops, and the lines were immediately re-occupied by General Jackson. Never, perhaps, was a victory gained with a greater disproportion of loss than on this occasion. Of the Americans, only 7 were killed and 6 wounded; while of the enemy, upwards of 2000, including almost all their general officers, were killed, wounded or prisoners. The patriot is often compelled to weep over the carnage by which his country has been delivered from foreign invasion; but how exquisite is his gratification, when that holy end is effected with little bloodshed, and when, in the beautiful language of the defender of New Orleans, "Not a cypress leaf is interwoven with the wreath of triumph." The loss of human life is always to be regretted; but humanity itself must cease to lament, when those whose purpose is violation, plunder, and destruction, perish in the attempt to effect their object.

The enemy had been equally unsuccessful in his endeavour to force a passage up the Mississippi. A part of the British fleet entered that river, and anchored opposite fort St. Philip, on which they commenced a cannonade on the 9th of January, which was continued until the 17th, when, finding that no impression was made, they gave up the contest and retired from the river. From this place, they proceeded to Mobile bay, where the remainder of the fleet had assembled, with the troops of General Lambert, which had re-embarked after their repulse from New Orleans. Fort Bowyer was invested by this formidable force on the 18th of February, and surrendered on the 11th of March. The garrison, to the number of 366, were made prisoners of war. The news of peace, which arrived soon after this event, put a period to all further hostility.

The following is from a number of Niles' Register, issued on the arrival of part of the glad tidings of the victory at New Orleans:

"Advance our waving colours on the walls!
Rescued is Orleans from the English wolves."

"Glorious News from New Orleans.

"Glory be to God, that the barbarians have been defeated, and that, at Orleans, the intended plunderers have found their grave!—Glory to Jackson, Carrol, and Coffee, and the hardy and gallant Tennesseeans, Kentuckians and Louisianians, who 'seized opportunity by the forelock' to 'demonstrate' what freemen can do in defence of their altars and firesides. Glory to the militia, that the 'soldiers of Wellington,' the boastful conquerors of the legions of France, have shrunk from the liberty-directed bullets of the high-souled sons of the west! Sons of freedom—saviours of Orleans—benefactors of your country and avengers of its wrongs, all hail! Hail, glorious people—worthy, thrice worthy, to enjoy the blessings which Heaven, in bounteous profusion, has heaped on your country! Never may its luxuriant soil be trodden unrevenged by insolent foreigners in arms!"

The news of the victory of New Orleans was soon followed by that of a treaty of peace, which was signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814. On the 17th of February, this treaty was ratified by the President and Senate.

The Dey of Algiers, who had committed many depredations on our commerce, was soon after brought to his senses, by a terrible castigation which he received from our naval heroes. In this war, Commodore Decatur showed himself one of the greatest naval warriors that any age or country ever produced.

PART V.

THE FLORIDA WAR.

CHAPTER I.

Character of the War—Distinguished Officers engaged in it—Indian Council—Sketches showing the general Character of the Fighting in Florida.

"Austere remembrance of the deed will hang
Upon its delicate spirit like a cloud,
And tinge its world of happy images
With hues of horror."

The Florida war consisted in the killing of Indians, because they refused to leave their native home—to hunt them amid the forests and swamps, from which they frequently issued to attack the intruders. To go or not to go, that was the question; and although it was unjust on the part of our government to drive the original occupants from their homes, yet the officers engaged in that war are not responsible for such injustice, as they did their duty in obeying the government. Among these, the most conspicuous are Generals Scott, Jessup, Gaines, Clinch, Worth, &c. Many a brave man lost his life and now sleeps beneath the sod of Florida. And yet neither these nor the heroes who exposed themselves there to so many dangers and sufferings, could acquire any military glory in such a war. For this reason, even if our space would admit of it, we should not enter into a detail of the campaigns, as they would be dull and uninteresting.—And now to the Indians.

It would seem very doubtful from the following proceedings in a council held at fort King, whether it was the determination of some of the chiefs, who were now hostile, to persist

in their opposition to removal, provided they could be so far separated from the influence of the Creek councils as to leave them in the enjoyment of their hereditary possessions; or that the President would allow them a separate agent, to watch over their interests and protect them from the encroachments of other tribes: for it is obvious that their greatest objections to leaving Florida have been based upon the liability of losing their slaves when they should have removed to the new country. In all their councils, this subject has been discussed, over and over again, and again reiterated even to the last day: recommendation after recommendation has followed from agents and friends of the government, but these solicitations have been responded to by the cry of "economy." "Economy in the administration of our government is the order of the day;" and thus the sacred rights of the Indian have been bartered away in the endeavours of the government to preserve the vain boasting of "retrenchment and reform."

This council was convened, on the 19th day of August, 1835, at the request of the undernamed chiefs, and sub-chiefs, and the talk was delivered in the presence of several of the officers stationed at fort King.

Kolata Amathla,
Charley Amathla,
Fucta Lusta Hajo,
Conhatkee Mico,
Otulkee Amathla,
Coa Hajo,
Foshatchee Mico,
Tustenuggee Hajo,
Billy Hicks,
Assiola,
Billy John,
Cosatchee Amathla,
Yaha Amathla,
Yaha Fixico,
Emathlochee,
Acola Hajo,
Tustinuc Yaha,
Powshaila,
Albartu Hajo,
Cochattee Fixico,
Ochee Hajo,
Cheti Haiola,
Cosa Tustenuggee,
Tokosa Fixico,
Conchattee.

Kolata Amathla was then requested by the chiefs to address the officers, and make known to their great father, through

them, the object of their visit; after a short silence he commenced:—

"My Friends:—We have come to see you and talk with you on a subject of great interest to us. We want you to open your ears to us and tell our great father, the President, the words his children speak.

"We made a treaty at Payne's Landing to go to the west; we were told to send some of our principal chiefs to examine the country, and if they approved of it, that the treaty should be complete; they went and found the country good. Whilst there, they had a talk with General Stokes and the commissioners; they were told that the Seminoles and Creeks were of the same family; were to be considered as the same nation; and placed under the Seminoles were a large nation, and should have their own agent as before; that if our father, the President, would give us our own agent, our own blacksmith, and our ploughs, we would go to this new country; but if he did not, we should be unwilling to remove; that we should be amongst strangers; they might be friendly or they might be hostile to us, and we wanted our own agent, whom we knew, who would be our friend, who would take care of us, would do us justice, and see justice done us by others.

"The commissioners replied, that our wishes were reasonable, and that they would do all that they could to induce our great father to grant them. Our lands at the west are separated from those of the Creeks by the Canadian, a great river; and we think the Creeks should have their agent on one side, and we ours on the other.

"We have been unfortunate in the agents our father has sent us. General Thompson, our present agent, is the friend of the Seminoles; we thought at first that he would be like the others, but we know better now; he has but one talk, and what he tells us is the truth; we want him to go with us; he told us he could not go, but he at last agreed to do so, if our great father will permit him; we know our father loves his red children, and will not let them suffer for want of a good agent. This is our talk, which we want you to send to our father, the President, hoping that we may receive an early answer."

The council then adjourned. Those to whom this speech was addressed, deemed it incumbent on them to disclose their opinions upon a subject which appeared to be, in the Indian's estimation, so vastly important; and they accordingly annexed the following, signed by nine of the officers:

"The undersigned beg leave to be excused for expressing their opinion on the foregoing proceedings. The subject of a separate agency has been an engrossing and all-important one with the Seminoles; they attach to it a consideration which, perhaps, it does not merit; but we are persuaded that its concession to them will be attended with the happiest results: it will confirm those who are already friendly, and be the means of conciliating others who are hostile, or at least neutral. Under this view of the case, we cheerfully unite with the foregoing chiefs, that General Wiley Thompson be appointed their resident agent.

"In justice to General Thompson, we feel called upon to say, that he has done everything in his power to dissuade the Indians from the course they have pursued in this matter; he assured them that they would have at the west an agent who would do them justice, and protect them in their rights; and, further, that it was an appointment he did not solicit, but could not reject, if, by accepting it, he could advance their interests and facilitate their future operations."

This document was forwarded to the Secretary of War, by General Clinch, with the following pertinent remarks:—

"In forwarding to you the enclosed document, I beg leave to make a few remarks, although the subject to which it relates is, itself, of no great importance, yet it may have an important bearing on the present quiet and future happiness of these children of the forest. They are, from peculiar circumstances and long habit, suspicious of the white man. It is hard to induce them to believe that all the efforts and operations of the government are intended for their own good. The question of a separate agency was again and again brought forward by the chiefs last winter and spring, and appeared to be considered by them of the first importance to their future interest, prosperity and happiness; and it was at

the earnest and repeated solicitations of the chiefs, Lieutenant Harris and myself consented to incorporate their wishes on that subject in the arrangement made with them in April last. Great pains have been taken to convince them, that the agent for the Creeks west of the Mississippi would watch over and protect them and their interests, in common with that of the Creeks, but I fear without effect. It is a law of nature for the weak to be suspicious of the strong. They say that the Creeks are much more numerous and powerful than they are; that there is a question of property, involving the right to a great many negroes, to be settled between them and the Creeks; and they are afraid that justice will not be done them, unless they can have a separate agent to watch over and protect their interests. The manly and straight-forward course pursued towards them by General Thompson, appears to have gained him their confidence, and they have again petitioned the President to make him their agent, and have requested me, through the immediate commanding officer at fort King, to forward their petition, with such remarks as my long acquaintance with their views and interests would authorize me to make. The experiment they are about to make is one of the deepest interest to them. They are leaving the birth-place of their wives and children, and many of them the graves of those they held most dear; and is it not natural that they should feel, and feel deeply, on such a trying occasion, and wish to have some one they had previously known, whom they could lean on, and look up to for protection?"

This earnest and pathetic appeal to the government having been answered by a negative, the Indians prepared for war.

By giving a few sketches of battles, the reader may form as good an idea of the character of this war as if he would nod his way through a whole volume on the subject. We give those sketches accordingly.

On the 20th of December, 1835, Colonels Parish and Reed, at the head of about 100 men, from Leon and Gadsden counties, took up a line of march for the purpose of reconnoitring the battle-ground of the 18th, and gathering the remains of the baggage, &c. When near the place, they discovered the

house of a Mr. Hogan on fire, and the Indians about leaving it. On the arrival of the advance-guard at the house, a party of 27 of the Seminoles kept them amused until the main body came up, when they retreated to a small hammock, which was quickly surrounded by the troops, leaving them no chance of escape. Both of the brave colonels rushed into the hammock at the head of a detachment, and, in less than fifteen minutes, killed all but four of the enemy. The whites had four very severely wounded in this engagement.

Three of the hostile party came into the camp of the friendly Indians, near fort Brooke, on the evening of the 22d of December, for the purpose, they said, of delivering a talk from Micanopy, of a pacific or neutral character. Whilst engaged in full council with Kolata Amathla and the other chiefs and warriors, Major Belton was informed of the circumstance, and he ordered them to be detained and carried to the fort. When they found themselves ensnared, they no longer concealed their true character. Finding it necessary to communicate with General Clinch, then at fort King, Major Belton sent the youngest and best runner with a letter, which, being upon the subject of the premeditated attack of the 31st of December, involved many details. To guard against treachery, as the road passed through Abraham's lands, Major Belton stated numbers and other material facts in French. Two days beyond the time allowed, the messenger returned to fort Brooke, bringing a talk from Hitchiti Mico and Abraham, stating that his (Major Belton's) talk was good, and that he might expect them on the 30th. It was then evident that the Indians had intercepted the letter, and were well aware of the intended attack.

Major Dade was present at the council of the warriors on that evening, and the proceedings being interpreted to him, he expressed every confidence in Indian character, and his conviction of the sincerity which governed the friendly chiefs; he also believed that Abraham, a domestic of Micanopy, had great influence over his chief.

The expected reinforcement of 39 men from Key West, with the gallant Brevet-Major Dade, having arrived on the

21st, no time was lost in preparing the two companies, ordered by General Clinch, on the 16th, to form a junction with the forces at fort King. Accordingly, at six o'clock A. M., of the 24th, Captain Gardiner's company C, 2d artillery, and Captain Fraser's company B, 3d infantry, making fifty bayonets each, with eight officers, taking with them ten days' provisions, one six-pounder, drawn by four oxen, and one light one-horse wagon, were placed in the line of march for that post, under command of Captain Gardiner.

In the chain of events, it may not be amiss to notice the change which occurred in the command of this ill-fated detachment, since it shows the noble and generous impulses of his heart, and is so perfectly characteristic of Major Dade. From his company A, 4th infantry, amounting to 39 men, the two companies of Captains Fraser and Gardiner were made up. Captain Gardiner's lady was exceedingly ill, and it was much feared that if he then left her she would die. He however made every preparation for a start, and was present at reveillé on the morning of the 24th, and mounted his horse in front of the detachment. At this juncture, Major Dade voluntarily proposed to Major Belton, the commanding officer at the post, that he (Dade) should take Captain Gardiner's place. The proposition was immediately accepted, and the command moved on. Before they had proceeded far, Captain Gardiner ascertained that the transport schooner Motto was on the eve of leaving for Key West, where Mrs. Gardiner's father and children were; he concluded to place Mrs. Gardiner on board the vessel, and gratify his wishes by going with his company. He soon after joined it, but the peculiar relation in which he now stood to Major Dade, induced him to let the latter continue in command.

The oxen which drew the field-piece having broken down when only four miles from fort Brooke, the command proceeded to a branch of the Hillsborough river, six miles from the fort, and there encamped for the night; from that place, Major Dade sent an express to Major Belton, and requested him to forward the field-piece as soon as possible. Horses were, therefore, immediately purchased, and the piece reached

the column that night about nine o'clock. Taking up the line of march, on the morning of the 25th, they reached the Hillsborough river, but found the bridge had been burnt and destroyed, and they encamped there until morning. The difficulty of crossing here retarded their movements very much, and on the 26th, they made but six miles. On the 27th, they crossed the Big and Little Ouithlacoochee rivers, and encamped about three miles north of the latter branch. Up to this time Major Dade, being aware that the enemy was continually watching his movements, had adopted every precaution against surprise or attack at night, by throwing up a small breastwork. Early on the morning of the 28th, the ill-fated party were again in motion, and when about four miles from their last camp, the advanced-guard passed a plat of high grass, and, having reached a thick cluster of palmettos, about fifty yards beyond the grass, a very heavy and destructive fire was opened upon them by the unseen enemy, at a distance of fifty or sixty yards, which literally mowed them down, and threw the main column into the greatest confusion. Soon recovering, however, on observing the enemy rise in front of them, they made a charge, and plied their fire so unerringly, that the Indians gave way, but not until muskets were clubbed, knives and bayonets were used, and the combatants were clinched; they were finally driven off to a considerable distance. Major Dade having fallen dead on the first fire, the command devolved upon Captain Gardiner, and as he discovered the Indians gathering again about half a mile off, he directed a breastwork to be thrown up for their protection; but the enemy allowed them so little time, that it was necessarily very low (only two and a half feet high) and imperfect. The Indians being reinforced, and having stationed about a hundred of their mounted warriors on the opposite side to cut off retreat, they slowly and cautiously advanced to a second attack, yelling and whooping in so terrific a manner as to drown the reports of the fire-arms. The troops soon began to make their great gun speak, which at first kept the enemy at bay, but soon surrounding the little breastwork, they shot down every man who attempted to work the gun,

so that it was rendered almost useless to them. One by one these brave and heroic men fell by each other's side in the gallant execution of their duty to their country. Being obliged, by the inefficient breastwork, to lay down to load and fire, the poor fellows laboured under great disadvantages, as, in the haste with which the work was constructed, they selected the lowest spot about that part, and consequently gave the enemy double the advantage over them. Major Dade and his horse, and Captain Fraser, with nearly every man of the advanced-guard, fell dead on the first volley, besides a number of the main column. Lieutenant Mudge received a mortal wound the first fire, and, on gaining the breastwork, breathed his last. Lieutenant Keayes had both arms broken, also, on the first attack; and one of the men bound them up with a handkerchief and placed him against a tree near the breastwork, where he was soon after tomahawked by a negro. Lieutenant Henderson received a severe wound in the left arm, but he heroically stuck to the fight, and fired thirty or forty shots before he died. Dr. Gatlin posted himself behind a log in the centre of the work, and exclaimed that he had four barrels for them; but, poor fellow, he soon ceased to use them, as he was shot early in the second attack. Towards the close of the battle, poor Gardiner received his death-shot in the breast, outside of the enclosure, and fell close to Lieutenant Mudge; the command of the little party then fell on Lieutenant Bassinger, who observed, on seeing Captain Gardiner fall, "I am the only officer left, boys; we must do the best we can." He continued at his post about an hour after Gardiner's death, when he received a shot in the thigh, which brought him down. Shortly after this, their ammunition gave out, and the Indians broke into the enclosure; and every man being either killed, or so badly wounded as to be unable to make resistance, they took off their fire-arms and whatever else would be of service to them, and retreated. Some time after the Indians left, the negroes came inside of the breastwork, and began to mutilate the bodies of those who showed the least signs of life, when Bassinger sprang upon his feet and implored them to spare him; they heeded not his supplica-

tions, but struck him down with their hatchets, cut open his breast, and tore out his heart and lungs; such is the report of Clarke, the only survivor. However, I must confess that the appearance of the body on the 20th of February did not seem to indicate that such violence had been committed on him, although one of the slain (a private) was found in a truly revolting condition—a part of his body had been cut off and crammed into his mouth! The negroes stripped all the officers, and some of the men, of their clothing, but left many valuables upon their persons, which were discovered, upon examination, by Major Mountfort, of General Gaines' command, and an account carefully taken by the Major, in order to transfer the articles respectively to the relatives of the deceased. All the military stores were carried off except the field-piece, which they spiked and conveyed to a pond.

Again, at another time and place: orders were issued for one-third of the command to remain on watch inside of the encampment, while one-third was engaged in strengthening the defences; a detachment of 200 of the Louisiana volunteers, under the expert marksman and most excellent officer, Captain Thistle, was detailed for the erection of a block-house near the river, while others were engaged in preparing canoes, &c. Everything went on quietly until about ten o'clock, when the working parties were fired upon, and simultaneously a heavy volley of at least one thousand guns poured into three sides of the encampment, the one nearest the river being the only one not assailed. Numbers of the enemy, concealed by the palmettos and small bushes on every side of the work, came so near, that they wounded the troops on the opposite side of the camp, a distance of two hundred yards. Finding that they could not induce the general to leave his position, the enemy set fire to the grass and palmettos, with a view to burn the breastwork down, but suddenly the wind shifted and carried the destruction towards themselves. The firing continued with unabated fury for two hours, when the enemy retired; and, as the men were instructed by the general, in person, not to expend their ammunition unless "you can see the white of your enemy's eye," it is presumable that

their loss must have been heavy. The bugle sounded a retreat, when the working party under Captain Thistle, returned to camp without suffering any loss; but the brave captain was of opinion that the enemy suffered very much from his little party, they having concealed themselves in the hammock until the Indians came up close to them without knowing that their enemy was for fighting them in their own way—when Captain Thistle ordered "fire," and many were observed to fall. The captain is a man of strict veracity, and he assured the general he "had a bead upon three."

The war progressed year after year, until *power* usurped the place of *justice*. The strong now hold by *right of conquest*, and "THE FLORIDA WAR IS ENDED!"

PART VI.

THE CALAMITIES OF WAR.

"From mortal eyes dark vapours snatch the sun;
Fires flash; the kindred elements rebel;
All heaven burns black, and, smouldering, shows more dun
E'en than the horrible obscure of hell:
Mid showers of hail, the long, loud thunders yell;
Fields float; the leas are drowned; not boughs alone
Crash in the rushing blast's sonorous swell,
But oaks, rocks, hills to their foundation-stone,
Quake to the roaring storm, or in the whirlwind groan.

TASSO.

If the patriot fails, he is pronounced a rebel—if the tyrant succeeds, he is a hero; the splendour of his achievements dazzles the world, and hides his sins—the victories alone are contemplated, while all that long train of miseries, always following war, is soon buried in oblivion.

We will turn back, for a moment, to where we see kingdoms, empires, and republics, emerge from the clouds of antiquity—sail down the stream of time, and gather, along its banks, a few facts in confirmation of our position.

"Behold the ruins of the cities of the Nile," said Arbaces; "their greatness hath perished—they sleep amid ruins—their palaces and shrines are tombs—the serpent coils in the grass of their streets—the lizard basks in their solitary halls." But, before these palaces and shrines became tombs—before the serpent coiled in the grass of their streets, and the lizard basked in their solitary halls, see where the hostile armies approach; mark the tumult and confusion of the men, the shrieking, wailing and lamentations of women and children; witness the horrors of battle—turn your eyes to the gushing streams of blood—hark! the groans of the dying—look upon the sublime, yet terrific sight, of the flames rolling over the cities like the billows of an ocean of fire; and where, in its wake, dark ruin stalks in all its hideousness.

The Grecian States, once so renowned for their arts, arms, poetry, and philosophy, while an admiring world was gazing on them in astonishment, began to shed the life-blood of each other, and fell prostrate into the insatiable hands of foreign powers. But what terror and dismay, what struggles, what anguish of body and of mind, were endured before these tragic scenes were enacted; before her numerous colonies were subdued; before her powerful fleet was overcome; before her ample fortifications were battered down; before her splendid edifices were defaced—destroyed; before her magnificent temples fell, to become immortal in their ruins; before her exquisite statues lay in time-honoured fragments; what terrible commotions were felt throughout the land! Could we now hear all the tumultuous uproar of those battles; could we now see all the blood; could we now hear all the groans and shrieks; could we now feel the pains and terrors occasioned by all this ruin and desolation, how strongly would we support that harmony which the present age is beginning to teach!

Carthage, the commercial emporium of the world—the abode of the wealth of nations—supports a siege until famine and despair rage throughout the city. Now the flames rise in awful sublimity to the sky—roll like burning mountains over the city, sink in a sea of fire, from which dark ruin rises to unfurl his flag in triumph. But before the Carthaginians leave their homes, and the homes of their fathers, what lamentations, and shrieks, and howlings, are heard! Thunderstruck with the dreadful necessity, they roll in the dust, they rend their clothes, they vent their grief in deep sighs and groans—implore for mercy—call down upon their enemies the wrath of the avenging gods, but all without effect.

Go to the coast of Africa now, and ask, with stentorian voice, where are the *ruins* of Carthage; and echo will answer, "*where?*" Ask the historians of the Punic wars the cause of this direful calamity, and they will tell you: "Behold the terrors and awful calamities of fiendish wars."

From a few cottages on the Tiber, Rome increased in power and splendour—a kingdom—a republic—an empire. Her bloody hands grasped and held a world in subjection. The wealth of plundered nations flowed into her treasury; and while the ill-gotten treasures increased her magnificence, it also increased the hatred of her enemies, and the discord among her own people. Honour, principle, and every tie that adorns the human heart, were often sacrificed in the struggle for power. By manifesting her want of sympathy for others,

she acknowledged her utter worthlessness of receiving any; and, after rolling over the world her desolating wars, the world at length rolled them back again. The barbarians of the north pour in with an irresistible power and overwhelm the western empire. The disciples of Mahomet burst like an ocean on the eastern Roman empire, sweeping away every obstacle placed in their way, and rule triumphant.

Rome originated in discord, increased in discord, attained to her height of glory in discord, and fell in discord.

But before that mighty city was built, what rivers of blood were made to flow to obtain the means; before a world was conquered and plundered, what dreadful groans, and wailings and lamentations were heard throughout that world! Before every principle of honour, and every tie of the human heart, was sacrificed, in her struggle for power, what fierce passion created a hell within the heart; before her tide of desolation *flowed* over a world, to *ebb* upon herself again, how many millions of men were overwhelmed in the ruinous tide! how many thousand cities, the labour of centuries, were reduced to shapeless masses of ruins, by the torch of the despoiler! How many millions of widowed mothers, disconsolate daughters and sisters, were distracted by the loss of their natural protectors, and by the indignities offered by a rude, heartless and mercenary soldiery!

"Oh, Rome! my country! city of the soul!
The orphans of the heart must turn to thee,
Lone mother of dead empires! and control,
In their shut breasts, their pithy misery.
What are our woes and sufferance? Come and see
The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way
O'er steps of broken thrones and temples, ye,
Whose agonies are evils of a day—
A world is at our feet as fragile as our clay.

The Niobe of nations! there she stands,
Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe,
An empty urn within her wither'd hands,
Whose holy dust was scatter'd long ago;
The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now;
The very sepulchres lie tenantless
Of their heroic dwellers: dost thou flow,
Old Tiber! through a marble wilderness?
Rise, with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress.

The Goth, the Christian, time, war, flood, and fire,
Have dealt upon the seven-hill'd city's pride;
She saw her glories star by star expire,
And up the steep barbarian monarchs ride,

Where the car climb'd the capitol; far and wide
Temple and tower went down, nor left a site.
Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say, 'here was, or is,' where all is doubly night?"

Again. Peter the Hermit, hurrying from court to court, in Europe, and from castle to castle, and from city to city, setting forth the importance of taking possession of the holiest places, by rescuing them from the hands of a merciless and infidel foe, now at Jerusalem. Hear him appeal to the religion of one sovereign, to the fears of another, and to the spirit of chivalry of them all. See thousands devoting themselves blindly to the service of God, as they imagined, by engaging in the Crusades. Now mark three hundred thousand men, women and children, marching on to a foreign land, without order, where they nearly all miserably perish by war, and its natural attendants, under such circumstances, pestilence and famine!—Such a scene of horrors no language could paint—such terrors and sufferings no imagination can grasp; and yet this was but a small part of the calamities of the Crusades, which were attended with no good results.

"'Tis uproar all; like tipsy bacchanals
The crowd to arms precipitately spring;
And now are heard fierce cries, seditious calls,
Shields clash, hoarse trumpets stern defiance fling."

The dread tocsin is sounded, and the infuriated populace of Paris rush through the streets like fiends. War spreads its horrors; all is terror and confusion. The blood of many flows through the streets of the capitol—human heads are carried in triumph through the streets on bayonets.—Kings league against the people who would be free, and desolating wars spread over Europe—armies invade every country—every family feels the dreadful effects of war, and many gloomy years pass away before the kings of Europe succeed in re-establishing their *divine right*.

"Stop!—For thy tread is on an empire's dust!
An earthquake's spoil is sepulchred below!
Is the spot mark'd with no colossal bust?
Nor column trophied for triumphal show?
None; but the moral's truth tells simpler so,
As the ground was before, thus let it be;—
How that red rain hath made the harvest grow!
And is this all the world has gain'd by thee,
Thou first and last of fields! king-making victory?

And Harold stands upon this place of skulls,
The grave of France, the deadly Waterloo;
How in an hour the power which gave annuls
Its gifts, transferring fame as fleeting too!
In 'pride of place' here last the eagle flew,
Then tore, with bloody talon, the rent plain,
Pierced by the shaft of banded nations through;
Ambition's life and labours all were vain;
He wears the shatter'd links of the world's broken chain.

Fit retribution! Gaul may champ the bit,
And foam in fetters;—but is earth more free?
Did nations combat to make one submit;
Or league to teach all kings true sovereignty?
What! shall reviving thraldom again be
The patch'd-up idol of enlighten'd days?
Shall we, who struck the Lion down, shall we
Pay the Wolf homage? proffering lowly gaze,
And servile knees to thrones? No; prove before ye praise!"

After all our search through large libraries for information—after all our study and long reflections on the battles of various ages and countries, we have come to the conclusion that we cannot give our readers so rich a mental treat, as by laying before them the following miseries of war, by the late illustrious Channing:

"In detailing the miseries and crimes of war, there is no temptation to recur to unreal or exaggerated horrors. No depth of colouring can approach reality. It is lamentable, that we need a delineation of the calamities of war, to rouse us to exertion. The mere idea of human beings employing every power and faculty in the work of mutual destruction, ought to send a shuddering through the frame. But, on this subject, our sensibilities are dreadfully sluggish and dead. Our ordinary sympathies seem to forsake us when war is named. The sufferings and death of a single fellow being often excite a tender and active compassion; but we hear, without emotion, of thousands enduring every variety of woe in war. A single murder in peace thrills through our frames. The countless murders of war are heard as an amusing tale. The execution of a criminal depresses the mind, and philanthropy is labouring to substitute milder punishments for death. But benevolence has hardly made an effort to snatch from sudden and untimely death the innumerable victims immolated on the altar of war. This insensibility demands, that the miseries and crimes of war should be placed before us with minuteness, with energy, with strong and indignant feeling.

"The miseries of war may be easily conceived from its

very nature. By war, we understand the resort of nations to force, violence, and the most dreaded methods of destruction and devastation. In war, the strength, skill, courage, energy, and resources of a whole people, are concentrated for the infliction of pain and death. The bowels of the earth are explored, the most active elements combined, the resources of art and nature exhausted, to increase the power of man in destroying his fellow-creatures.

"Would you learn what destruction man, when thus aided, can spread around him? Look then at that extensive region, desolate and overspread with ruins; its forests rent, as if blasted by lightning; its villages prostrated, as by an earthquake; its fields barren, as if swept by storms. Not long ago, the sun shone on no happier spot. But ravaging armies prowled over it; war frowned on it; and its fruitfulness and happiness are fled. Here thousands and ten thousands were gathered from distant provinces, not to embrace as brethren, but to renounce the tie of brotherhood; and thousands, in the vigour of life, when least prepared for death, were hewn down and scattered like chaff before the whirlwind.

"Repair, my friends, in thought, to a field of recent battle. Here are heaps of slain, weltering in their own blood, their bodies mangled, their limbs shattered, and almost every vestige of the human form and countenance destroyed. Here are multitudes trodden under foot, and the war-horse has left the trace of his hoof in many a crushed and mutilated frame. Here are severer sufferers; they live, but live without hope or consolation. Justice despatches the criminal with a single stroke; but the victims of war, falling by casual, undirected blows, often expire in lingering agony, their deep groans moving no compassion, their limbs writhing on the earth with pain, their lips parched with burning thirst, their wounds open to the chilling air, the memory of home rushing on their minds, but not a voice of friendship or comfort reaching their ears. Amidst this scene of horrors, you see the bird and beast of prey gorging themselves with the dead or dying, and human plunderers rifling the warm and almost palpitating remains of the slain. If you extend your eye beyond the immediate field of battle, and follow the track of the victorious and pursuing army, you see the roads strewed with the dead; you see scattered flocks, and harvests trampled under foot, the smoking ruins of cottages, and the miserable inhabitants flying in want and despair; and even yet, the horrors of a single battle are not exhausted. Some of the deepest pangs which it inflicts, are silent, retired, enduring, to be read

in the widow's countenance, in the unprotected orphan, in the aged parent, in affection cherishing the memory of the slain, and weeping that it could not minister to their last pangs.

"I have asked you to traverse, in thought, a field of battle. There is another scene often presented in war, perhaps more terrible. I refer to a besieged city. The most horrible pages in history, are those which record the reduction of strongly fortified places. In a besieged city, are collected all descriptions and ages of mankind, women, children, the old, the infirm. Day and night, the weapons of death and conflagration fly around them. They see the approaches of the foe, the trembling bulwark, and the fainting strength of their defenders. They are worn with famine, and on famine presses pestilence. At length the assault is made, every barrier is broken down, and a lawless soldiery, exasperated by resistance, and burning with lust and cruelty, are scattered through the streets. The domestic retreat is violated; and even the house of God is no longer a sanctuary. Venerable age is no protection, female purity no defence. Is woman spared amidst the slaughter of father, brother, husband, and son?—she is spared for a fate, which makes death, in comparison, a merciful doom. With such heart-rending scenes, history abounds; and what better fruits can you expect from war?

"These views are the most obvious and striking which war presents. There are more secret influences, appealing less powerfully to the senses and imagination, but deeply affecting to a reflecting and benevolent mind.—Consider, first, the condition of those who are immediately engaged in war. The sufferings of soldiers from battle we have seen; but their sufferings are not limited to the period of conflict. The whole of war is a succession of exposures too severe for human nature. Death employs other weapons than the sword. It is computed that, in ordinary wars, greater numbers perish by sickness than in battle. Exhausted by long and rapid marches, by unwholesome food, by exposure to storms, by excessive labour under a burning sky through the day, and by interrupted and restless sleep on the damp ground and in the chilling atmosphere of night, thousands after thousands of the young pine away and die. They anticipated that they should fall, if to fall should be their lot, in what they called the field of honour; but they perish in the inglorious and crowded hospital, surrounded with sights and sounds of woe, far from home and every friend, and denied those tender offices which sickness and expiring nature require.

"Consider, next, the influence of war on the character of those who make it their trade. They let themselves for slaughter, place themselves instruments, passive machines, in the hands of rulers, to execute the bloodiest mandates, without a thought on the justice of the cause in which they are engaged. What a school is this for the human character! From men trained in battle to ferocity, accustomed to the perpetration of cruel deeds, accustomed to take human life without sorrow or remorse, habituated to esteem an unthinking courage a substitute for every virtue, encouraged by plunder to prodigality, taught improvidence by perpetual hazard and exposure, restrained only by an iron discipline, which is withdrawn in peace, unfitted by the restless and irregular career of war for the calm and uniform pursuits of ordinary life; from such men, what ought to be expected but contempt of human rights and of the laws of God? From the nature of his calling, the soldier is almost driven to sport with the thought of death, to defy and deride it, and, of course, to banish the thought of that retribution to which it leads; and though of all men the most exposed to sudden death, he is too often of all men most unprepared to appear before his Judge.

"The influence of war on the community at large, on its prosperity, its morals, and its political institutions, though less striking than on the soldiery, is yet baleful. How often is a community impoverished to sustain a war in which it has no interest! Public burdens are aggravated, whilst the means of sustaining them are reduced. Internal improvements are neglected. The revenue of the state is exhausted in military establishments, or flows through secret channels into the coffers of corrupt men, whom war exalts to power and office. The regular employments of peace are disturbed. Industry in many of its branches is suspended. The labourer, ground with want, and driven to despair by the clamour of his suffering family, becomes a soldier in a cause which he condemns, and thus the country is drained of its most effective population. The people are stripped and reduced, whilst the authors of war retrench not a comfort, and often fatten on the spoils and woes of their country.

"The influence of war on the morals of society is also to be deprecated. The suspension of industry multiplies want; and criminal modes of subsistence are the resource of much suffering. Commerce, shackled and endangered, loses its upright and honourable character, and becomes a system of stratagem and collusion. In war, the moral sentiments of a com-

munity are perverted by the admiration of military exploits. The milder virtues of Christianity are eclipsed by the baleful lustre thrown round a ferocious courage. The disinterested, the benignant, the merciful, the forgiving, those whom Jesus has pronounced blessed and honourable, must give place to the hero, whose character is stained not only with blood, but sometimes with the foulest vices, but all whose stains are washed away by victory. War especially injures the moral feelings of a people, by making human nature cheap in their estimation, and human life of as little worth as that of an insect or a brute.

"War diffuses through a community unfriendly and malignant passions. Nations, exasperated by mutual injuries, burn for each other's humiliation and ruin. They delight to hear that famine, pestilence, want, defeat, and the most dreadful scourges which Providence sends on a guilty world, are desolating a hostile community. The slaughter of thousands of fellow-beings, instead of awaking pity, flushes them with delirious joy, illuminates the city, and dissolves the whole country in revelry and riot. Thus the heart of man is hardened. His worst passions are nourished. He renounces the bonds and sympathies of humanity. Were the prayers, or rather the curses, of warring nations prevalent in heaven, the whole earth would long since have become a desert. The human race, with all their labours and improvements, would have perished under the sentence of universal extermination.

"But war not only assails the prosperity and morals of a community; its influence on the political condition is threatening. It arms government with a dangerous patronage, multiplies dependants and instruments of oppression, and generates a power, which, in the hands of the energetic and aspiring, endangers a free constitution. War organizes a body of men, who lose the feelings of the citizen in the soldier; whose habits detach them from the community; whose ruling passion is devotion to a chief; who are inured, in the camp, to despotic sway; who are accustomed to accomplish their ends by force, and to sport with the rights and happiness of their fellow-beings; who delight in tumult, adventure, and peril; and turn with disgust and scorn from the quiet labours of peace. Is it wonderful, that such protectors of a state should look with contempt on the weakness of the protected, and should lend themselves base instruments to the subversion of that freedom which they do not themselves enjoy? In a community, in which precedence is given to the military profession, freedom cannot long endure. The encroachments of

power at home are expiated by foreign triumphs. The essential interests and rights of the state are sacrificed to a false and fatal glory. Its intelligence and vigour, instead of presenting a bulwark to domestic usurpation, are expended in military achievements. Its most active and aspiring citizens rush to the army, and become subservient to the power which dispenses honour. The nation is victorious, but the recompense of its toils is a yoke as galling as that which it imposes on other communities.

"Thus, war is to be ranked among the most dreadful calamities which fall on a guilty world; and, what deserves consideration, it tends to multiply and perpetuate itself without end. It feeds and grows on the blood which it sheds. The passions, from which it springs, gain strength and fury from indulgence. The successful nation, flushed by victory, pants for new laurels; whilst the humbled nation, irritated by defeat, is impatient to redeem its honour and repair its losses. Peace becomes a truce, a feverish repose, a respite to sharpen anew the sword, and to prepare for future struggles. Under professions of friendship, lurk hatred and distrust; and a spark suffices to renew the mighty conflagration. When from these causes, large military establishments are formed, and a military spirit kindled, war becomes a necessary part of policy. A foreign field must be found for the energies and passions of a martial people. To disband a numerous and veteran soldiery, would be to let loose a dangerous horde on society. The bloodhounds must be sent forth on other communities, lest they rend the bosom of their own country. Thus war extends and multiplies itself. No sooner is one storm scattered, than the sky is darkened with the gathering horrors of another. Accordingly, war has been the mournful legacy of every generation to that which succeeds it. Every age has had its conflicts; every country has in turn been the seat of devastation and slaughter. The dearest interests and rights of every nation have been again and again committed to the hazards of a game, of all others the most uncertain, and in which, from its very nature, success too often attends on the fiercest courage and the basest fraud.

"Such, my friends, is an unexaggerated, and I will add, a faint delineation of the miseries of war; and to all these miseries and crimes the human race have been continually exposed, for no worthier cause, than to enlarge an empire already tottering under its unwieldy weight, to extend an iron despotism, to support some idle pretension, to repel some unreal or exaggerated injury. For no worthier cause, human blood has been

poured out as water, and millions of rational and immortal beings have been driven like sheep to the field of slaughter."

——"Wreathe the laurel—
Fill the cup, the banners wave!
Champions of a kingdom's quarrel
Wait the honours due the brave.
Give rich gifts—a robe of honour,
Power and place to him who led—
For a nation is the donor—
Feed him with its orphans' bread!
Strew the streets with fragrant blossoms,
Through them drag the hero's car;
Late he trod o'er bleeding bosoms,
On the crimson'd plains of war.
Ye whose children, fathers, brothers,
Pave his fields, be ye its steeds;
Widow'd wives and childless mothers,
Shout ye as the chariot speeds!

Let each lip be curved with pleasure—
Let each eye beam bright with glee:
What are tears, and blood, and treasure,
Poised against a victory?
When a nation's ear, astounded,
With triumphant pæans rings,
What are thousands kill'd and wounded?
Men were made to die for kings!
What though fields, late rich with culture,
Are by war's sirocco scathed?
What though carrion-seeking vulture
In a sea of gore hath bathed?
Blot such trifles from the story
Of renown so nobly gain'd;
Still must bud the tree of glory,
Though its roots with blood be stain'd!

Build a temple to Ambition,
Base it on an empire's wreck;
Ye who bow in meek submission
At a sceptred despot's beck,
Search earth's bosom for the slaughter'd,
And with bones that there lie hid
Of the millions it has martyr'd,
Pile the ghastly pyramid!
From the days when Northern Alric
On the Roman eagles trod
To the era—more chivalric—
Of the Gallic Demigod—
Could the harvest of 'the sleepers'
From Death's garner be restored,
We should find his mightiest reapers
Were the battle-axe and sword!

But the victors!—they whose madness
Made the world a type of hell,
Was it theirs in peace and gladness,
Mid the wreck they made, to dwell?
Ask the walls where Sweden's monarch
Mourn'd Pultowa's overthrow;
Ask the rock of Gallia's Anarch;
Hark! their echoes thunder—'No!'
Conquest's sword is only glorious
When the blood with which it streams
(Ransom of a land victorious)
Nature's charter'd right redeems."

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